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A SHORT HISTORY

OF THE

ENGLISH PEOPLE

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OF THE

ENGLISH PEOPLE

BY

J. R. GREEN M.A.

ILLUSTRATED EDITION

EDITED BY MRS. J. R. GREEN AND MISS KATE NORGATE

VOLUME I

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PREFACE TO ILLUSTRATED EDITION

IT was a favourite wish of my husband's to see English History interpreted and illustrated by pictures which should tell us how men and things appeared to the lookers-on of their own day, and how contemporary observers aimed at representing them. This new edition of his book is an attempt to carry out such an idea. It has seemed most fitting to choose for the purpose the work of the writer who by the brilliance of his historic imagination has recovered for Englishmen many regions of the past left waste and neglected, and brought to light costly treasures that had long lain hidden in some of its most obscure corners. The "Short History," with its vivid realization of all that goes to make up the life of a People, lends itself in a singular way to illustrations which are themselves the work of the people century by century, and the wisdom of the historian is constantly justified as the details of some vivid description, or the significance with which some incident is clothed, or the new measure and proportion given to facts that before his time were common and despised, are finely emphasized by the work of old scribes or artists to whom all these things were present realities.

And there is another reason why this book should be chosen for illustration of this kind. The very existence of the "Short History" is in itself a truly significant fact in the record of the English people. For the book, standing alone as it does among

the histories of the nations, must remain as one of the most characteristic products of our English life, and is in some sort the very expression of the people among whom it was conceived and for whom it was written. With its roots sunk deep in our English soil, made of the very substance of our English life, its whole character determined by the special conditions of our English society, it has taken the very impress of the temper and qualities which have given to the struggle of this people for their national liberties its peculiar spirit and form. Nor would it be easy to measure the influence which the book has actually exerted in this generation, both in giving a new direction and method to historical study, and in giving to the people a fuller consciousness of what our Commonwealth imports. Read by hundreds of thousands of Englishmen, it has not passed through their hands without communicating something of that passion of patriotism by which it is itself inspired, as it creates and illuminates for the English democracy the vision of the continuous life of a mighty people, and as it quickens faith in that noble ideal of freedom which we have brought as our great contribution to the sum of human effort. Among English-speaking people beyond the seas, where it has a yet greater number of readers than here, it has helped to strengthen the sense of kinship and the reverence for our common past. I have known an American who, reading this History for the first time in middle life, was so stirred by the memories it brought him that he found means to leave his business in one of the Western States and travel to England, that he might visit Ebbsfleet. So strong and direct was the sense which he had gained from our history of the common tie that bound English-speaking peoples together, and so generous were the instincts which sprang from such a lofty fellowship, that it came to him as a personal shock, almost as a reproach for the wiping away of which he from his far country earnestly desired to give his efforts, to learn that at the last Mr. Green had not been laid to rest in his own land, but, by one of those infinite renunciations that death exacts, had been in death separated from his people.

I would say but a few words as to the character and sources of the illustrations themselves. In a book whose pages overflow with the abounding fulness and variety of English life, where place has been found "for figures little heeded in common history —figures of the missionary, the poet, the printer, the merchant, or the philosopher" (p. xxv), as well as for the labourer, the wandering beggar, and the artizan, no narrow limit can be set to the choice of illustrations. The selection therefore has always been determined by a desire to get at the contemporary view of men and things rather than by canons of art. Nothing has been shut out which served this purpose, and indirectly therefore the whole series of illustrations comes to be an interesting record not only of the changes that passed over English life, but of some of the changes that passed over its modes of expression as certain forms of art rose to their perfection, or falling into contempt declined to ruder forms, or were even blotted out in a temporary desolation. For the early life of our forefathers illustrations have been chosen from household implements, vessels, armour, or ornaments which have been preserved in this country, and also very largely from foreign sources, such as the Danish and Swedish collections made by Worsaae and Montelius of relics of the English kin who remained beyond sea; thus, for example, illustrations of the Old English religion, of which hardly a trace remains here, may be discovered in the personal ornaments decorated with symbols of the old Norse deities which are found in Scandinavia. So also some specimens of early Irish building, metal-work, and illuminations, have been added to those pages which have really restored to English readers the memory of "the missionary and the poet" who brought Irish art and Irish religion to Britain. From the eighth to the sixteenth century the great mass of illustrations, whether of characteristic scenes, of early buildings, of arts or industries or dress or manner of life, have been taken from illuminated manuscripts preserved in the British Museum, in the Public Record Office, at Lambeth, in the Bodleian and some of the Oxford Colleges, in the University Library of Cambridge and the Libraries of Corpus Christi

and Trinity Colleges; while some others from manuscripts in private collections have been obtained, necessarily at second-hand, through the medium of the engravings in "Vetusta Monumenta," "Archæologia," &c. When the manuscripts fail their place is taken by specimens of early printing, the engraved ornamental title-pages of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the wood-cuts on titles of seventeenth century tracts, the figures which adorn the corners of maps, or the rich store of beautiful engravings of the later eighteenth century. Satirical prints, the rough wood-cuts or engravings of broadsheets and popular ballads, common playing cards, and tradesmen's advertisements have been used as freely as the more "artistic" materials, both as giving a lively sense of the attitude of the common people towards art and politics, and as occasionally possessing in their very uncouthness much historical significance. Sometimes traces of an early fresco, or the work of the seal engraver, the coiner, the medallist, or the glass-painter, or even some fragment of needlework have been found to preserve details which would otherwise have been lost. The goldsmith and ironsmith have left examples of fine artistic work, while illustrations taken from the carvers in wood and stone range from effigies of kings and queens and great statesmen (of some of whom no other genuine portrait exists) to the signs of London taverns and shops in the seventeenth century.

The "Short History" was the first book which distinguished the great part played in the history of the English people by the burghers of the towns, and it still remains the only history where the fight of those little scattered communities is pictured in its true significance and given its just place in the developement of the national life. Since, in Mr. Green's own words, "the mill by the stream, the tolls in the market-place, the brasses of its burghers in the church, the names of its streets, the lingering memory of its guilds, the mace of its mayor, tell us more of the past of England than the spire of Sarum or the martyrdom of Canterbury" (Intr. xviii), there will be found here the circuit of ancient walls and towers that guarded the little republic, the old streets and houses,

the market cross, the brass memorial of the burgher, the ancient horns which summoned the commonalty to the market-place, the mayor in his robes, the mace, the rude justice with duel and stocks and gallows, the taverners and cooks and bakers and porters and armourers at their work, and the relics of the guild, its hall, its seal, its money-box, its school-house, its "arbour." In the case of buildings which have either totally vanished, such as the old Oxford buildings, old St. Paul's, London Bridge, Oseney, Bristol Bridge, the mayor's house at Lynn, &c., or which have been restored, as Rosslyn Chapel or the archbishop's hall at Mayfield, it has often been possible to use some illumination in a manuscript, or an early print or engraving or private drawing which recalls the original state of things, or occasionally a picture has been photographed—as, for example, the three pictures of London (*c.* 1750) in the Guildhall Art Gallery.

So also the indications of the text have been followed where the story passes over to foreign life. "A walk through Normandy teaches one more of the age of our history which we are about to traverse than all the books in the world." (See p. 134.) "To understand the history of England under its Angevin rulers, we must first know something of the Angevins themselves" (p. 185). This principle has been acted upon by giving some illustrations from Normandy and Anjou; and again in later days pictures from the France of Mary Stuart, and portraits of the Continental sovereigns and statesmen with whom England had to deal. The same feeling may be found in the large use made of Dutch engravings in the seventeenth century, which are here significant not only as far superior in point of art to the English productions of the time, but as showing the lively interest taken by foreigners in the details of English affairs at that period, and the great place which England filled in their imaginations; if the pictures do not recall the very form and features which we actually wore, they at least show that which others saw or imagined us to be. Finally, some relics of our kin in the New England across the Atlantic have been inserted, just as in the earlier time relics were

gathered from the fatherland of the English race beyond the German Sea.

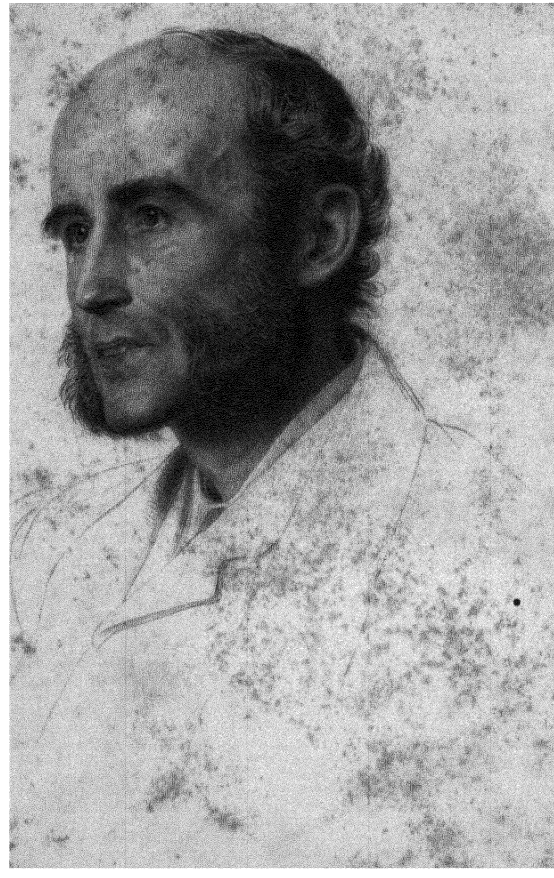
The portraits, which have in almost every case been engraved specially for this book, and some of which are now for the first time copied, have been chosen under the kind advice of Mr. George Scharf, C.B., Director of the National Portrait Gallery, and the most authentic likenesses have been thus secured.

It has been a deep source of pleasure and gratitude to me to find what ready help and interest have almost invariably been offered on all sides by the officials in the libraries and collections who have generously given their sympathy and their counsel. I especially desire to thank Mr. Madan, of the Bodleian, for his many valuable suggestions and courteous assistance. I would also most gratefully acknowledge the kindness with which those who possess private drawings or who own pictures not hitherto engraved or photographed, have allowed them to be reproduced for the illustrations of this book.

In conclusion, I am bound to add that in the laborious task of searching over so wide a field for illustrations and the difficult work of selection Miss Kate Norgate has worked with a devotion and intelligent care for which I cannot render adequate thanks, but which will I have no doubt win the gratitude of many readers. My sincere thanks are due to Mr. Cooper and the artists who have worked with him for the zeal and sympathy which they have thrown into their task, and their skill in its execution.

ALICE STOPFORD GREEN.

14 KENSINGTON SQUARE,
March 9th, 1892.



INTRODUCTION

THE story of how the Short History of the English People came to be written would be the story of Mr. Green's life, from the time when his boyish interest was first awakened by the world beyond himself until his work was done. So closely are the work and the worker bound together that unless the biography be fully written no real account of the growth of the book can indeed be given. But in issuing a Revised Edition of the History, a slight sketch of the historical progress of the writer's mind, and of the gradual way in which the plan of his work grew up, may not seem out of place.

John Richard Green, who was born at Oxford in December 1837, was sent at eight years old to Magdalen Grammar School, then held in a small room within the precincts of the College. The Oxford world about him was full of suggestions of a past which very early startled his curiosity and fired his imagination. The gossiping tales of an old dame who had seen George the Third drive through the town in a coach and six were his first lessons in history. Year after year he took part with excited fancy in the procession of the Magdalen choir boys to the College tower on May Day, to sing at the sunrising a Hymn to the Trinity which had replaced the Mass chanted in pre-Reformation days, and to "jangle" the bells in recognition of an immemorial festival. St. Giles' fair, the "beating of the bounds," even the name of "Pennyfarthing Street," were no less records of a mysterious past than Chapel or College or the very trees of Magdalen Walk; and he once received, breathless and awe-struck, a prize from the hands

of the centenarian President of the College, Dr. Routh, the last man who ever wore a wig in Oxford, a man who had himself seen Dr. Johnson stand in the High Street with one foot on either side of the kennel that ran down the middle of the way, the street boys standing round, "none daring to interrupt the meditations of the great lexicographer." "You are a clever boy," said the old man as he gave the prize and shook him by the hand.

His curiosity soon carried him beyond Oxford; and in very early days he learned to wander on Saints' days and holidays to the churches of neighbouring villages, and there shut himself in to rub brasses and study architectural mouldings. Other interests followed on his ecclesiastical training. He remembered the excitement which was produced in Oxford by Layard's discovery of the Nestorians in the Euphrates valley. One day Mr. Ramsay gathered round him the boys who were at play in Magdalen Walk and told them of his journey to see these people; and one at least of his hearers plunged eagerly into problems then much discussed of the relations of orthodox believers to Monophysites, and the distinctions between heresy and schism, questions which occupied him many years. Knowledge of this kind, he said long afterwards, had been a real gain to him. "The study of what the Monophysites did in Syria, and the Monothelites in Egypt, has taught me what few historians know—the intimate part religion plays in a nation's history, and how closely it joins itself to a people's life."

Living in a strictly Conservative atmosphere, he had been very diligently brought up as a Tory and a High Churchman. But when he was about fourteen, orthodox Conservatism and school life came to a close which then seemed to him very tragic. A school essay was set on Charles the First; and as the boy read earnestly every book he could find on the subject, it suddenly burst on him that Charles was wrong. The essay, written with a great deal of feeling under this new and strong conviction, gained the prize over the heads of boys older and till then reputed abler; but it drew down on him unmeasured disapproval. Canon Mozley, who examined, remonstrated in his grave way: "Your essay is very

good, but remember I do not agree with your conclusions, and you will in all probability see reason to change them as you grow older." The head-master took a yet more severe view of such a change of political creed. But the impulse to Liberalism had been definitely given ; and had indeed brought with it many other grave questionings. When at the next examination he shot up to the head of the school, his master advised that he should be withdrawn from Magdalen, to the dismay both of himself and of the uncle with whom he lived. The uncle indeed had his own grounds of alarm. John had one day stood at a tailor's window in Oxford where Lord John Russell's Durham Letter was spread out to view, and, as he read it, had come to his own conclusions as to its wisdom. He even declared the Ecclesiastical Titles Act to be absurd. His uncle, horrified at so extreme a heresy, with angry decision ordered him to find at once another home ; and when after a time the agitation had died away and he was allowed to come back, it was on the condition of never again alluding to so painful a subject. The new-found errors clung to him, however, when he went shortly afterwards to live in the country with a tutor. "I wandered about the fields thinking," he said, "but I never went back from the opinions I had begun to form."

It was when he was about sixteen that Gibbon fell into his hands ; and from that moment the enthusiasm of history took hold of him. "Man and man's history" became henceforth the dominant interest of his life. When he returned to Oxford with a scholarship to Jesus College, an instinct of chivalrous devotion inspired his resolve that the study of history should never become with him "a matter of classes or fellowships," nor should be touched by the rivalries, the conventional methods, the artificial limitations, and the utilitarian aims of the Schools. College work and history work went on apart, with much mental friction and difficulty of adjustment and sorrow of heart. Without any advisers, almost without friends, he groped his way, seeking in very solitary fashion after his own particular vocation. His first historical efforts were spent on that which lay immediately about him ; and the

series of papers which he sent at this time to the *Oxford Chronicle* on "Oxford in the last Century" are instinct with all the vivid imagination of his later work, and tell their tale after a method and in a style which was already perfectly natural to him. He read enormously, but history was never to him wholly a matter of books. The Town was still his teacher. There was then little help to be had for the history of Oxford or any other town. "So wholly had the story of the towns," he wrote later, "passed out of the minds of men that there is still not a history of our country which devotes a single page to it, and there is hardly an antiquary who has cared to disentomb the tragic records of fights fought for freedom in this narrow theatre from the archives which still contain them. The treatise of Brady written from a political, that of Madox from a narrow antiquarian, point of view; the summaries of charters given by the Commissioners under the Municipal Reform Act; the volumes of Stephens and Merewether; and here and there a little treatise on isolated towns are the only printed materials for the study of the subject." Other materials were abundant. St. Giles' Fair was full of lessons for him. He has left an amusing account of how, on a solemn day which came about once in eight years, he marched with Mayor and Corporation round the city boundaries. He lingered over the memory of St. Martin's Church, the centre of the town life, the folk-mote within its walls, the low shed outside where mayor and bailiff administered justice, the bell above which rang out its answer to the tocsin of the gownsmen in St. Mary's, the butchery and spicery and vintnery which clustered round in the narrow streets. "In a walk through Oxford one may find illustrations of every period of our annals. The Cathedral still preserves the memory of the Mercian St. Frideswide; the tower of the Norman Earls frowns down on the waters of the Mill; around Merton hang the memories of the birth of our Constitution; the New Learning and the Reformation mingle in Christ Church; a 'grind' along the Marston Road follows the track of the army of Fairfax; the groves of Magdalen preserve the living traditions of the last of the Stewarts."

Two years, however, of solitary effort to work out problems of education, of life, of history, left him somewhat disheartened and bankrupt in energy. A mere accident at last brought the first counsel and encouragement he had ever known. Some chance led him one day to the lecture-room where Stanley, then Canon of Christ Church, was speaking on the history of Dissent. Startled out of the indifference with which he had entered the room, he suddenly found himself listening with an interest and wonder which nothing in Oxford had awakened, till the lecturer closed with the words, "'*Magna est veritas et prævalebit*,' words so great that I could almost prefer them to the motto of our own University, '*Dominus illuminatio mea.*'" In his excitement he exclaimed, as Stanley, on leaving the hall, passed close by him, "Do you know, sir, that the words you quoted, '*Magna est veritas et prævalebit*,' are the motto of the Town?" "Is it possible? How interesting! When will you come and see me and talk about it?" cried Stanley; and from that moment a warm friendship sprang up. "Then and after," Mr. Green wrote, "I heard you speak of work, not as a thing of classes and fellowships, but as something worthy for its own sake, worthy because it made us like the great Worker. 'If you cannot or will not work at the work which Oxford gives you, at any rate work at something.' I took up my old boy-dreams of history again. I think I have been a steady worker ever since."

It was during these years at Oxford that his first large historical schemes were laid. His plan took the shape of a History of the Archbishops of Canterbury; and seeking in Augustine and his followers a clue through the maze of thirteen centuries, he proposed under this title to write in fact the whole story of Christian civilization in England. "No existing historians help me," he declared in his early days of planning; "rather I have been struck by the utter blindness of one and all to the subject which they profess to treat—the national growth and developement of our country." When in 1860 he left Oxford for the work he had chosen as curate in one of the poorest parishes of

East London, he carried with him thoughts of history. Letters full of ardent discussion of the theological and social problems about him still tell of hours saved here and there for the British Museum, of work done on Cuthbert, on Columba, on Irish Church History—of a scheme for a history of Somerset, which bid fair to extend far, and which led direct to Glastonbury, Dunstan, and Early English matters. Out of his poverty, too, he had gathered books about him, books won at a cost which made them the objects of a singular affection; and he never opened a volume of his "Acta Sanctorum" without a lingering memory of the painful efforts by which he had brought together the volumes one by one, and how many days he had gone without dinner when there was no other way of buying them.

But books were not his only sources of knowledge. To the last he looked on his London life as having given him his best lessons in history. It was with his churchwardens, his schoolmasters, in vestry meetings, in police courts, at boards of guardians, in service in chapel or church, in the daily life of the dock-labourer, the tradesman, the costermonger, in the summer visitation of cholera, in the winter misery that followed economic changes, that he learnt what the life of the people meant as perhaps no historian had ever learnt it before. Constantly struck down as he was by illness, even the days of sickness were turned to use. Every drive, every railway journey, every town he passed through in brief excursions for health's sake, added something to his knowledge; if he was driven to recover strength to a seaside lodging he could still note a description of Ebbsfleet or Richborough or Minster, so that there is scarcely a picture of scenery or of geographical conditions in his book which is not the record of a victory over the overwhelming languor of disease.

After two years of observation, of reading, and of thought, the Archbishops no longer seemed very certain guides through the centuries of England's growth. They filled the place, it would appear, no better than the Kings. If some of them were great leaders among the people, others were of little account; and after the

sixteenth century the upgrowth of the Nonconformists broke the history of the people, taken from the merely ecclesiastical point of view, into two irreconcilable fractions, and utterly destroyed any possibility of artistic treatment of the story as a whole.' In a new plan he looked far behind Augustine and Canterbury, and threw himself into geology, the physical geography of our island in prehistoric times, and the study of the cave-men and the successive races that peopled Britain, as introductory to the later history of England. But his first and dominating idea quickly thrust all others aside. It was of the English People itself that he must write if he would write after his own heart. The nine years spent in the monotonous reaches of dreary streets that make up Hoxton and Stepney, the close contact with sides of life little known to students, had only deepened the impressions with which the idea of a people's life had in Oxford struck on his imagination. "A State," he would say, "is accidental; it can be made or unmade, and is no real thing to me. But a nation is very real to me. That you can neither make nor destroy." All his writings, the historical articles which he sent to the *Saturday Review* and letters to his much-honoured friend, Mr. Freeman, alike tended in the same direction, and show how persistently he was working out his philosophy of history. The lessons which years before he had found written in the streets and lanes of his native town were not forgotten. "History," he wrote in 1869, "we are told by publishers, is the most unpopular of all branches of literature at the present day, but it is only unpopular because it seems more and more to sever itself from all that can touch the heart of a people. In mediæval history, above all, the narrow ecclesiastical character of the annals which serve as its base, instead of being corrected by a wider research into the memorials which surround us, has been actually intensified by the partial method of their study, till the story of a great people seems likely to be lost in the mere squabbles of priests. Now there is hardly a better corrective for all this to be found than to set a man frankly in the streets of a simple English town, and to bid him

work out the history of the men who had lived and died there. The mill by the stream, the tolls in the market place, the brasses of its burghers in the church, the names of its streets, the lingering memory of its guilds, the mace of its mayor, tell us more of the past of England than the spire of Sarum or the martyrdom of Canterbury. We say designedly of the past of England, rather than of the past of English towns. . . . In England the history of the town and of the country are one. The privilege of the burgher has speedily widened into the liberty of the people at large. The municipal charter has merged into the great charter of the realm. All the little struggles over toll and tax, all the little claims of 'custom' and franchise, have told on the general advance of liberty and law. The townmotes of the Norman reigns tided free discussion and self-government over from the Witenagemot of the old England to the Parliament of the new. The husting court, with its resolute assertion of justice by one's peers, gave us the whole fabric of our judicial legislation. The Continental town lost its individuality by sinking to the servile level of the land from which it had isolated itself. The English town lost its individuality by lifting the country at large to its own level of freedom and law."

The earnestness, however, with which he had thrown himself into his parish work left no time for any thought of working out his cherished plans. His own needs were few, and during nearly three years he spent on the necessities of schools and of the poor more than the whole of the income he drew from the Church, while he provided for his own support by writing at night, after his day's work was done, articles for the *Saturday Review*. At last, in 1869, the disease which had again and again attacked him fell with renewed violence on a frame exhausted with labours and anxieties. All active work was for ever at an end—the doctors told him there was little hope of prolonging his life six months. It was at this moment, the first moment of leisure he had ever known, he proposed "to set down a few notions which I have conceived concerning history," which "might serve as an introduction to better things if I lived, and might stand for some

work done if I did not." The "Short History" was thus begun. When the six months had passed he had resisted the first severity of the attack, but he remained with scarcely a hold on life; and incessantly vexed by the suffering and exhaustion of constant illness, perplexed by questions as to the mere means of livelihood, thwarted and hindered by difficulties about books in the long winters abroad, he still toiled on at his task. "I wonder," he said once in answer to some critic, "how in those years of physical pain and despondency I could ever have written the book at all." Nearly five years were given to the work. The sheets were written and re-written, corrected and cancelled and begun again till it seemed as though revision would never have an end. "The book is full of faults," he declared sorrowfully, "which make me almost hopeless of ever learning to write well." As the work went on his friends often remonstrated with much energy. Dean Stanley could not forgive its missing so dramatic an opening as Cæsar's landing would have afforded. Others judged severely his style, his method, his view of history, his selection and rejection of facts. Their judgement left him "lonely," he said; and with the sensitiveness of the artistic nature, its quick apprehension of unseen danger, its craving for sympathy, he saw with perhaps needless clearness of vision the perils to his chance of winning a hearing which were prophesied. He agreed that the "faults" with which he was charged might cause the ruin of his hopes of being accepted either by historians or by the public; and yet these very "faults," he insisted, were bound up with his faith. The book was in fact, if not in name, the same as that which he had planned at Oxford; to correct its "faults" he must change his whole conception of history; he must renounce his belief that it was the great impulses of national feeling, and not the policy of statesmen, that formed the ground-work and basis of the history of nations, and his certainty that political history could only be made intelligible and just by basing it on social history in its largest sense.

"I may be wrong in my theories," he wrote, "but it is better for

me to hold to what I think true, and to work it out as I best can, even if I work it out badly, than to win the good word of some people I respect and others I love" by giving up a real conviction. Amid all his fears as to the failings of his work he still clung to the belief that it went on the old traditional lines of English historians. However Gibbon might err in massing together his social facts in chapters apart, however inadequate Hume's attempts at social history might be, however Macaulay might look at social facts merely as bits of external ornament, they all, he maintained, professed the faith he held. He used to protest that even those English historians who desired to be merely "external and pragmatic" could not altogether reach their aim as though they had been "High Dutchmen." The free current of national life in England was too strong to allow them to become ever wholly lost in State-papers; and because he believed that Englishmen could therefore best combine the love of accuracy and the appreciation of the outer aspects of national or political life with a perception of the spiritual forces from which these mere outer phenomena proceed, he never doubted that "the English ideal of history would in the long run be what Gibbon made it in his day—the first in the world."

When at last, by a miracle of resolution and endurance, the "Short History" was finished, discouraging reports reached him from critics whose judgement he respected; and his despondency increased. "Never mind, you mayn't succeed this time," said one of his best friends, "but you are sure to succeed some day." He never forgot that in this time of depression there were two friends, Mr. Stopford Brooke and his publisher, who were unwavering in their belief in his work and in hopefulness of the result.

The book was published in 1874, when he was little more than 36 years of age. Before a month was over, in the generous welcome given it by scholars and by the English people, he found the reward of his long endurance. Mr. Green in fact was the first English historian who had either conceived or written of English

history from the side of the principles which his book asserted; and in so doing he had given to his fellow-citizens such a story of their Commonwealth as has in fact no parallel in any other country. The opposition and criticism which he met with were in part a measure of the originality of his conception. Success, however, and criticism alike came to him as they come to the true scholar. "I know," he said in this first moment of unexpected recognition, "what men will say of me, 'He died learning.'"

I know of no excuse which I could give for attempting any revision of the "Short History," save that this was my husband's last charge to me. Nor can I give any other safeguard for the way in which I have performed the work than the sincere and laborious effort I have made to carry out that charge faithfully. I have been very careful not to interfere in any way with the plan or structure of the book, and save in a few exceptional cases, in which I knew Mr. Green's wishes, or where a change of chronology made some slight change in arrangement necessary, I have not altered its order. My work has been rather that of correcting mistakes of detail which must of a certainty occur in a story which covers so vast a field; and in this I have been mainly guided throughout by the work of revision done by Mr. Green himself in his larger "History." In this History he had at first proposed merely to prepare a library edition of the "Short History" revised and corrected. In his hands, however, it became a wholly different book, the chief part of it having been re-written at much greater length, and on an altered plan. I have therefore only used its corrections within very definite limits, so far as they could be adapted to a book of different scope and arrangement. Though since his death much has been written on English History, his main conclusions may be regarded as established, and I do not think they would have been modified, save in a few cases of detail, even by such books as the last two volumes of Dr. Stubbs' "Constitutional History," and his "Lectures on Modern History";

Mr. Gardiner's later volumes on Charles's reign, and Mr. Skene's later volumes on "Early Scottish History." In his own judgement, severely as he judged himself, the errors in the "Short History" were not the mistakes that show a real mis-reading of this or that period, or betray an unhistoric mode of looking at things as a whole; nor has their correction in fact involved any serious change. In some passages, even where I knew that Mr. Green's own criticism went far beyond that of any of his critics, I have not felt justified in making any attempt to expand or re-write what could only have been re-written by himself. In other matters which have been the subject of comments of some severity, the grounds of his own decision remained unshaken; as for example, the scanty part played by Literature after 1660, which Mr. Green regretted he had not explained in his first preface. It was necessary that the book should be brought to an end in about eight hundred pages. Something must needs be left out, and he deliberately chose Literature, because it seemed to him that after 1660 Literature ceased to stand in the fore-front of national characteristics, and that Science, Industry, and the like, played a much greater part. So "for truth's sake" he set aside a strong personal wish to say much that was in his mind on the great writers of later times, and turned away to cotton-spinning and Pitt's finance. "It cost me much trouble," he said, "and I knew the book would not be so bright, but I think I did rightly."

It was in this temper that all his work was done; and I would only add a few words which I value more especially, because they tell how the sincerity, the patient self-denial, the earnestness of purpose, that underlay all his vivid activity were recognized by one who was ever to him a master in English History, Dr. Stubbs, now Bishop of Oxford. "Mr. Green," he wrote, "possessed in no scanty measure all the gifts that contribute to the making of a great historian. He combined, so far as the history of England is concerned, a complete and firm grasp of the subject in its unity and integrity with a wonderful command of details, and a thorough sense of perspective and proportion. All his work was real and original work;

few people besides those who knew him well would see under the charming ease and vivacity of his style the deep research and sustained industry of the laborious student. But it was so; there was no department of our national records that he had not studied and, I think I may say, mastered. Hence I think the unity of his dramatic scenes and the cogency of his historical arguments. Like other people he made mistakes sometimes; but scarcely ever does the correction of his mistakes affect either the essence of the picture or the force of the argument. And in him the desire of stating and pointing the truth of history was as strong as the wish to make both his pictures and his arguments telling and forcible. He never treated an opposing view with intolerance or contumely; his handling of controversial matter was exemplary. And then, to add still more to the debt we owe him, there is the wonderful simplicity and beauty of the way in which he tells his tale, which more than anything else has served to make English history a popular, and as it ought to be, if not the first, at least the second study of all Englishmen."

I have to thank those friends of Mr. Green, Dr. Stubbs, Dr. Creighton, Professor Bryce, and Mr. Lecky, who, out of their regard for his memory, have made it a pleasure to me to ask their aid and counsel. I owe a special gratitude to Professor Gardiner for a ready help which spared no trouble and counted no cost, and for the rare generosity which placed at my disposal the results of his own latest and unpublished researches into such matters as the pressing of recruits for the New Model, and the origin of the term Ironside as a personal epithet of Cromwell. Mr. Osmund Airy has very kindly given me valuable suggestions for the Restoration period; and throughout the whole work Miss Norgate has rendered services which the most faithful and affectionate loyalty could alone have prompted.

ALICE S. GREEN.

December, 1887.

PREFACE TO THE FIRST EDITION

THE aim of the following work is defined by its title; it is a history, not of English Kings or English Conquests, but of the English People. At the risk of sacrificing much that was interesting and attractive in itself, and which the constant usage of our historians has made familiar to English readers, I have preferred to pass lightly and briefly over the details of foreign wars and diplomacies, the personal adventures of kings and nobles, the pomp of courts, or the intrigues of favourites, and to dwell at length on the incidents of that constitutional, intellectual, and social advance in which we read the history of the nation itself. It is with this purpose that I have devoted more space to Chaucer than to Cressy, to Caxton than to the petty strife of Yorkist and Lancastrian, to the Poor Law of Elizabeth than to her victory at Cadiz, to the Methodist revival than to the escape of the Young Pretender.

Whatever the worth of the present work may be, I have striven throughout that it should never sink into a "drum and trumpet history." It is the reproach of historians that they have too often turned history into a mere record of the butchery of men by their fellow-men. But war plays a small part in the real story of European nations, and in that of England its part is smaller than in any. The only war which has profoundly affected English society and English government is the Hundred Years' War with France, and of that war the results were simply evil. If I have said little of the glories of Cressy, it is because

I have dwelt much on the wrong and misery which prompted the verse of Longland and the preaching of Ball. But on the other hand, I have never shrunk from telling at length the triumphs of peace. I have restored to their place among the achievements of Englishmen the "Faerie Queen" and the "Novum Organum." I have set Shakspere among the heroes of the Elizabethan age, and placed the scientific inquiries of the Royal Society side by side with the victories of the New Model. If some of the conventional figures of military and political history occupy in my pages less than the space usually given them, it is because I have had to find a place for figures little heeded in common history—the figures of the missionary, the poet, the printer, the merchant, or the philosopher.

In England, more than elsewhere, constitutional progress has been the result of social development. In a brief summary of our history such as the present, it was impossible to dwell as I could have wished to dwell on every phase of this development; but I have endeavoured to point out, at great crises, such as those of the Peasant Revolt or the rise of the New Monarchy, how much of our political history is the outcome of social changes; and throughout I have drawn greater attention to the religious, intellectual, and industrial progress of the nation itself than has, so far as I remember, ever been done in any previous history of the same extent.

The scale of the present work has hindered me from giving in detail the authorities for every statement. But I have prefixed to each section a short critical account of the chief contemporary authorities for the period it represents as well as of the most useful modern works in which it can be studied. As I am writing for English readers of a general class I have thought it better to restrict myself in the latter case to English books, or to English translations of foreign works where they exist. This is a rule which I have only broken in the occasional mention of French books, such as those of Guizot or Mignet, well known and within reach of ordinary students. I greatly regret that the publication

of the first volume of the invaluable Constitutional History of Professor Stubbs came too late for me to use it in my account of those early periods on which it has thrown so great a light.

I am only too conscious of the faults and oversights in a work, much of which has been written in hours of weakness and ill health. That its imperfections are not greater than they are, I owe to the kindness of those who have from time to time aided me with suggestions and corrections ; and especially to my dear friend Mr. E. A. Freeman, who has never tired of helping me with counsel and criticism. Thanks for like friendly help are due to Professor Stubbs and Professor Bryce, and in literary matters to the Rev. Stopford Brooke, whose wide knowledge and refined taste have been of the greatest service to me.

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PORTRAIT OF JOHN RICHARD GREEN, engraved on steel by G. J. Stodart, after a drawing by Frederick Sandys . . . . . *To face p.* xi

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S. MATTHEW, FROM THE BOOK OF KELLS . . . . . *To face* 1

The "Book of Kells" is a MS. of the Gospels, in Latin, written in Ireland (c. A.D. 650-690). It was anciently called "the Great Gospels of Columba," as being the chief treasure of the church at Kells, of which S. Columba was the founder and patron. In 1006 the book was stolen, together with the case or shrine of gold in which it was kept according to Irish custom; the book alone was recovered, and remained at Kells till it passed into the hands of Ussher, when Bishop of Meath. Ussher's Library, bought by the English army and the State in 1656, for a proposed new College at Dublin, was given by Charles II. to Trinity College, where the Book of Kells is still preserved. The MS. is one of the finest productions of the Irish school of illumination, containing perfect specimens of the interlaced, spiral, and trumpet-patterns, and of the treatment of human and animal figures characteristic of Irish art; all these are exemplified in the page selected for the present illustration.

SHIELD (*Worsaae, "Industrial Arts of Denmark"*) 2

Made of wood, with bronze mountings, and a boss in the centre to protect the hand. Found in Jutland; dates from the Earlier Iron Age, A.D. 1—450.

MAILCOAT (*Worsaae, "Industrial Arts of Denmark"*) . . . . . 3 *

Belongs to same period as the shield. Made of rings of iron; was found in a bog in Jutland.

SILVER HELMET (*Worsaae, "Industrial Arts of Denmark"*) 3

Silver, ornamented with gold. Same period.

PART OF A HELMET, IRON OVERLAID WITH BRONZE (*Montelius, "Civilization of Sweden"*) 4

The helmet, of which a part is here represented, was found in a grave at Vendel, North Upland. It dates from the Middle Iron Age (c. A.D. 450—700) and furnishes a curious representation of an ancient northern warrior.

SILVER CUP (*Montelius, "Civilization of Sweden"*) 5

Silver, partly gilded. Found in Denmark. Period, A.D. 1—450.

EARTHENWARE EWER (*Montelius, "Civilization of Sweden"*) 5

Found in Gotland; dates from the Earlier Iron Age, and is, like all earthen vessels of that period, unglazed.

TWO HORNS, FIFTH CENTURY (*Worsaae, "Industrial Arts of Denmark"*) . . 6

These horns were found at Gallehus, in North Jutland, the perfect one in 1639, the broken one in 1734. The former was 2 ft. 9 in. long, and weighed 6 lbs. 7 oz.; the latter, having lost its smaller end, was only 1 ft. 9 in. long, but weighed 7 lbs. 7 oz. Both were of gold, and engraved with subjects from northern mythology. They were stolen and melted down in 1802, but accurate drawings of them had been made, from which later representations have been copied.

HEAD OF THUNDER (*Stephens, "Thunor the Thunderer"*) 7

A pendant of silver, parcel gilt, in the shape of a hammer, the upper part wrought into the semblance of a head somewhat like that of a bird. This head, and the hammer, were both recognized emblems of Thor

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(Thunder), and the numerous ornaments of this character which occur in finds of the Middle and Later Iron Age (A.D. 450—1000) were probably worn by his worshippers somewhat as a crucifix might be worn in later days. The pendant here figured was found in 1875 at Erikstorp, East Gotland.

BRACTEATES REPRESENTING NORTHERN DIVINITIES (*Worsaae, "Industrial Arts of Denmark"*) 8

The pendent ornaments, resembling medals or coins, called bracteates (from the Latin *bractea*, a thin plate) seem to have been commonly used for personal adornment both by men and women, throughout the Middle Iron Age. They are of gold, usually stamped with figures, runes, or interlaced patterns, and often with a border of fine decoration made with a punch. The two bracteates here figured are decorated with religious subjects. The larger one bears a head representing Thunder, above a he-goat, an animal sacred to that god, and a "swastika" or "fylfot" (cross with bent arms), which was another of his emblems, together with the three dots symbolizing the Scandinavian trinity, Thunder, Woden, and Frea. The border is formed of the "triskele," or three-armed figure, which was the sign of Woden, the plain cross emblematic of Frea, and a zigzag to represent lightning, while the triangle below the loop is filled with suns or moons. The smaller bracteate bears a head of Thunder, having on one side Woden's "triskele," on the other a figure holding a sword, and three crosses to represent the sun or Frea.

BOAT FOR FOURTEEN PAIRS OF OARS, FOUND AT NYDAM, SOUTH JUTLAND (*Montelius, "Civilization of Sweden"*) 11

One of two "clinch-built" boats, of the Earlier Iron Age, found in a peat-bog at Nydam in 1863. The boat here figured was of oak, the other of pine. "They were large and open, pointed at both ends, designed only for rowing, with no trace of a mast. Both boats differ from those now generally in use, by the peculiar way in which the planks are fastened to the ribs. The oak boat, which is remarkable for its very supple and graceful form, is 78 ft. between the high points at the stem and stern, and 10 ft. 9 in. broad midships; it was rowed with 14 pairs of oars. These are exactly like those still used in the North, and are 11 ft. 2 in. long. The rudder is narrow, and was fastened to one side of the boat near the stern end. . . . During the later part of the heathen times the boats were always drawn up on land for the winter, or when they were not wanted for some time. The boats found at Nydam have holes at the ends, for the rope by which they were hauled on land." (Montelius, trans. Woods, pp. 115-117.)

EBBSFLEET 13

From a sketch made in 1890.

RICHBOROUGH 14

Showing part of the Roman wall.

KIT'S COTY HOUSE 16

ROMAN KENT 18

BRITAIN AND THE ENGLISH CONQUEST 21

OLD ENGLISH COMBS (*Akerman, "Pagan Saxondom"*) 24

Made of bone; found in the last century, in graves of women, on Kingston Down.

OLD ENGLISH BUCKLES 25

Found in barrows on Breach Down and at Sittingbourne. The small buckles were in the grave of a child.

OLD ENGLISH KEYS (*Akerman, "Pagan Saxondom"*) 25

Found in a woman's grave, in the cemetery on Ozengall Hill, Kent. The keys are hung on a ring formed by a bronze wire twisted through a bronze fibula.

PLATINGS OF AN OLD ENGLISH BUCKET (*Akerman, "Pagan Saxondom"*) . . 26

Found in a woman's grave, at Linton Heath, Cambridgeshire.

OLD ENGLISH FIBULÆ 26

The first of these fibulæ, or brooches, is of gilt bronze, and remarkable for the purely Teutonic character of its ornamentation, which includes an early form of what was afterwards known as the *fleur-de-lis*. It was found in one of

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the ancient graves at Fairford, Gloucestershire, and is here engraved from Akerman's "Pagan Saxondom." The second fibula (now in the Collection of the Society of Antiquaries) is also of bronze gilt; it was found in 1785 near Rothley Temple, Leicestershire. The third was found at Abingdon, and is now in the British Museum. Its surface is encrusted with garnet-coloured glass laid on a background of gold foil, and interspersed with plates of thin gold with gold wire laid on; the round bosses are of ivory or bone, with garnet-coloured glass on the apex. The back has been drawn to show the mode of fastening.

OLD ENGLISH GLASS VESSELS (*Akerman*, "*Pagan Saxondom*") 27
Pale blue glass; found at Cuddesdon.

OLD ENGLISH SPOON 28
This spoon is of silver, ornamented with garnets. It was found in a barrow at Chatham, and is now in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.

OLD ENGLISH FORK (*Akerman*, "*Pagan Saxondom*") 28
Of iron, with handle of deershorn. Found in an Old English burial-ground at Harnham, near Salisbury, in the grave of a young man, whose remains were lying with this fork, a knife, flint and steel, all within the extended right arm.

BRITAIN IN 593 30

S. LUKE THE EVANGELIST 32
From a book of the Gospels traditionally believed to have been brought to Canterbury by S. Augustine; now in the library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, to which it was given by Parker; probable date, seventh century.

SCEATTAS 33
The earliest known English coins are small silver pieces called *sceattas*, of uncertain value and date; it is doubtful whether they were brought over by the English settlers, or struck by them after their settlement. They form, however, a connecting link between the genuine Roman coins and those of ascertained English origin. The only coins on which Runic characters are found unaccompanied by any Roman legend are some of these sceattas, one of which is figured here. The other two examples are clearly imitations of Roman types.

BRITAIN IN 626 36

OLD ENGLISH GLASS VESSELS (*Akerman*, "*Pagan Saxondom*") 37
The first of these was found at Wodnesborough, and is of a delicate brown tint, like the colour of a dead leaf. The second was found at Gilton, near Sandwich, and is of a transparent light green hue. The third, of a pale yellowish green colour, was found at Reculver and is now in the museum at Canterbury.

OLD ENGLISH PATERA (*Akerman*, "*Pagan Saxondom*") 38
Found at Wingham. It is of bronze, and shows traces of Roman influence.

BRITAIN IN 634 40

OLD ENGLISH CROSS 41
A pendent ornament in shape of a cross; gold inlaid with coloured glass. Found in Norfolk; now in British Museum.

FRAGMENT OF A SUIT OF BRONZE RING MAIL, IRISH 41
Now in Museum of Royal Irish Academy, Dublin. This fragment was found, 3 ft. under the surface, in burning a reclaimed bog adjoining the old castle of the O'Conors, near the town of Roscommon. Such an ornamental suit of mail as that of which it once formed part "probably served, when worn over or attached to a buff-coat, the double purpose of defence and decorative costume; and was, in all likelihood, a portion of the paraphernalia of office in days gone by." (Wilde, *Catal. of Antiqu. in Museum of R. I. A.*, p. 576.)

NIELLO PENDENT HOOK, IRISH 42
This hook, also in the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy, is one of the most beautiful specimens of Irish skill in the art of inlaying bronze with silver and some dark-coloured metal. It is thought that its use may have been to suspend a sword.

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LATE CELTIC BRONZE DISC 42

A large number of bronze discs, whose workmanship shows that they belong to the later period of Celtic art, have been found in Ireland and in no other country. It is thought that they may have formed portions of shields. The disc here figured is in the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy; it is about 11 in. in diameter, and furnishes a good example in metal-work of the divergent spiral or trumpet-pattern seen in the illuminations of the Book of Kells and other MSS. of the Irish school.

ORNAMENT OF GILDED BRONZE, FOUND IN GOTLAND (*Montelius*, "*Civilization of Sweden*") 42

PLATE OF GILDED BRONZE (*from the same*) 43

These two objects, both found in Gotland and dating from the Earlier Iron Age (C. A.D. 1—450), show a remarkable resemblance with the forms of ornamentation common in Irish art.

INITIAL N (*Stokes*, "*Early Christian Art in Ireland*") 44

From the Book of Kells.

BRITAIN IN 640 45

IRISH OGHAM STONE 46

Two views of a stone 4½ ft. high and about 11 in. across, bearing an inscription in the ancient Celtic or Ogham characters, which prevailed in Ireland down to its conversion to Christianity, and remained in use for some time after the introduction of the Roman alphabet. The Ogham letters were formed of groups of incised lines and dots arranged along a stem line. The stone here figured, now in the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy, was found with three others built into the walls of a house in county Kerry; they are believed to have been removed thither from the underground chamber of a neighbouring rath (fort).

COIN OF PEADA 47

An unique coin (silver), in the British Museum; attributed to Penda's son Peada, whom he set over the Middle English in 652.

MONASTIC CELL, SKELLIG MICHAEL (*Anderson*, "*Scotland in Early Christian Times*") 48

One of the very ancient monastic buildings on the Great Skellig (an island off the coast of Kerry). These form a good example of the method of building common to the forts of heathen Ireland in the age before its conversion, and to its earliest Christian establishments, viz., a building, or group of buildings, surrounded by a wall (cashel), all built of dry stone without cement. The original monastery at Iona must have been of this type. The hut here figured is built of slate; its religious character is marked by the cross of white quartz-stone inserted above the door. The projecting stones in the wall and roof may have served for standing on, or putting planks across, while building. The beehive shape of the hut seems to be a transition towards a more convenient form, shown in the next illustration.

ORATORY AT GALLARUS, CO. KERRY (*Stokes*, "*Early Christian Art in Ireland*") 49

A higher development of the type shown in p. 48. This oratory is 15 ft. 3 in. long, 10 ft. 2 in. wide, and 10 ft. high; the dome is formed by the projection of one stone beyond another till they meet at the top. At the east end is a window, 1 ft. wide, with a round-headed arch cut out of one stone; at the west end is a door, with sides and lintel of dressed stone. Over the lintel, inside, are two projecting stones pierced at each end vertically by large holes, probably to suspend a wooden door by a hinge.

BRITAIN IN 658 50

BELL OF CUMASCACH MAC AILLELLO (*Stokes*, "*Early Christian Art in Ireland*") 51

Cumascach Mac Aillello was steward to the monastery of Armagh, and died 908. This bell, on which his name is inscribed, is of cast bronze, 11¾ in. high, and 8 in. across at base; the handle and clapper are of iron.

OLD ENGLISH CLASPS (*Akerman*, "*Pagan Saxondom*") 55

Found at Crondale, in Hampshire.

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OLD ENGLISH NECKLACES 56

Made of glass beads of various colours. Both necklaces are now in the British Museum. The one with coins or bracteates attached was found at Sarre, the other at Faversham.

BRITAIN IN 665 61

COIN OF ECGFRITH 62

A *styca* of copper, the usual coinage of Northumbria, of which Ecgfrith's coins are the earliest examples. The Northumbrian coinage seems to have been more directly connected with the old Roman currency than that of the southern kingdoms, and the use of copper was probably due to the existence of a greater number of Roman copper coins in the district north of the Humber. Ecgfrith's styca bears on its obverse "Ecgfrid Rex" and a small cross; on the reverse, an irradiated cross with the word "Lux," possibly symbolical of his efforts to spread the light of the true faith among his people.

OGHAM STONE AT NEWTON, ABERDEENSHIRE (*Anderson, "Scotland in Early Christian Times"*) 62

This stone, which originally stood on the moor of Pitmachie, about a mile from its present site, is the only monument of its kind in Scotland which bears inscriptions in two different alphabets: that on its edge being in Ogham characters, while that on its flattest side is in debased Roman minuscules. In the middle of this latter inscription is cut the fylfot, or cross with bent arms, the old northern symbol of Thunder, which seems to have been used in Christian monuments of Celtic origin.

DAVID AND HIS CHOIR 64

From an early eighth century MS. (Cotton Vespasian A. i., British Museum). It formerly belonged to S. Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury, but was written and illuminated by an Anglo-Irish scribe, as may be clearly seen in the trumpet-pattern of the canopy over the group of minstrels and dancers. The two upper figures on each side of David are thought to be scribes holding styles, one having in his left hand a roll, the other an open book, or a waxen tablet for writing. The figures are of Roman or Byzantine character.

S. JOHN THE EVANGELIST . . . . . *to face p.* 66

From the "Lindisfarne" or "Durham" Gospel-book (MS. Cotton Nero D. iv., British Museum). This book, once the property of the cathedral church of Durham, is the finest extant specimen of early English illumination. It was written at Lindisfarne, "for God and S. Cuthbert," by Eadfrith, who was bishop of that see, A.D. 698-721; and adorned with paintings by Æthelwald, who was a monk there under Eadfrith and succeeded him as bishop. These paintings consist of elaborate designs in spiral and interlaced work after the Irish manner, and figures of the Evangelists. The figures are curious as showing the beginnings of a native English school of art, founded on late Roman or rather Byzantine models, but marked by a new freedom and boldness of treatment which from the first gives it a distinct character of its own.

CHURCH AT BRADFORD ON AVON (*Journal of the Archæological Association*) . 68

One of the foundations of Bishop Ealdhelm of Sherborne, "the church which he erected on the scene of Cenwealh's victory at Bradford-on-Avon, stands in almost perfect preservation to-day" (*"Making of England,"* p. 341). This little building lay hidden for centuries behind a pile of modern buildings till in 1857 it was re-discovered. It represents the "little church" (*ecclesiola*) dedicated to S. Laurence and built by Ealdhelm, which William of Malmesbury mentions (Gesta Pontif., l. v. c. 198) as existing at Bradford in his time, though the monastery once attached to it had perished.

BEGINNING OF S. LUKE'S GOSPEL (*Lindisfarne Gospel-Book*) 70

No reproduction in black and white can convey an adequate idea of the beauty of the decorative work in this MS., and of the marvellous effect given to the interlaced patterns by an exquisite use of colours. This page is given as a specimen of the large decorated initials, whose form and style show how strong was the Irish influence still abiding at Lindisfarne, and also of the calligraphy of the book. To the Latin text, written by Bishop Eadfrith, the interlinear gloss in the Northumbrian dialect was added, seemingly about the middle of the tenth century, by a priest named Aldred, who also inserted in the volume two notes which are the authority for its history.

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DAVID AS PSALMIST 72

From a MS. of Cassiodorus on the Psalms, dating from the eighth century, and traditionally said to have been written by Bæda's own hand. It belongs to the library of Durham Cathedral.

DAVID AS WARRIOR 75

From the same MS.

COIN OF OFFA 76

In the latter part of the eighth century the *sceatta* was superseded by a thinner broader coin, also of silver, and called a penny. The idea of these coins seems to have been derived from the "new denarii" introduced in Frankland by Pepin, c. 750, and they thus illustrate the new connexion between the English kingdoms and the Frankish court which is described in pp. 78-82. The English coiners, however, developed a type of their own by introducing the king's head, which scarcely ever appears on the Carolingian coins, and for which models were found in the Roman or Byzantine solidi, then almost the only gold coins current in northern Europe. On its reverse the penny bore the name of the moneyer. The series of pennies begins with Offa; henceforth they are the usual coinage of English kings.

BRITAIN IN 792 77

S. MATTHEW, FROM THE GOSPEL-BOOK OF S. BONIFACE 79

S. Boniface, having resigned his bishopric of Mainz, went in 754 as a missionary to Frisia, and was there martyred on June 5, 755. His remains were afterwards removed to Fulda, an abbey which he had founded in Bavaria. On the site of his martyrdom were found three little books; one a New Testament of Italian origin, bearing the autograph of Victor, bishop of Capua in 546; another a treatise of S. Isidore, in Lombardic characters, pierced, cut, and stained with blood; the third a small octavo volume containing the Gospels written in a very small minuscule Irish character, and adorned with figures of the four Evangelists, one of which is reproduced here. The monks of Fulda, where the book is still preserved, have added at the end an inscription stating that Abbot Huoggi received it from King Arnulf, and that it was written with S. Boniface's own hand; this last statement however is wrong, for the real scribe has concluded his work with his name, in the usual Irish fashion: "Finit. Amen. Deo gratias ago. Vidrug scribsit."

BEGINNING OF THE BOOK OF EXODUS, FROM ALCUIN'S BIBLE 80

One of the works undertaken by Alcuin at the desire of Charles the Great was a revision of the Latin text of the Bible, already much corrupted since S. Jerome's day by the carelessness and ignorance of copyists. A magnificent copy of the Vulgate, thus "diligently emended," was prepared under Alcuin's personal superintendence, if not actually by his own hand, and sent by him as a gift to Charles on the day of his crowning at Rome. The volume numbered 10540 among the Additional MSS. in the British Museum is probably a sumptuous copy made in the next generation. It is a large folio, written in double columns on extremely fine vellum, in small minuscule characters of what is known as the Caroline type. From this splendid example of the improved style of writing which came into use under Charles, the initial letter and opening words of the Book of Exodus are given with two lines of the minuscules.

MOSES GIVING THE LAW 81

Part of a full-page illumination placed opposite the beginning of Exodus in Alcuin's Bible. The upper half of the picture represents Moses receiving the Law on Mount Sinai; the lower, here reproduced, shows him delivering the Law to Aaron and the people of Israel. The colouring of the original is most brilliant; the mountain seems indeed to "burn with fire." But the chief interest lies in the figures of Moses and Aaron. The latter is arrayed rather as a king than as a priest; and it is thought that these two figures may be identified with Alcuin and Charles, the great teacher presenting his work to the Emperor. The sons of Israel are in the garb of Roman senators.

COIN OF ECGBERHT 82

The earliest West-Saxon coins are those of Ecgberht. From him the series of silver pennies is continued without a break, as the sole coinage of the English realm and almost the sole currency of the British Isles, till the time of Henry III.

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BRONZE PLATE WITH FIGURES OF NORTHERN WARRIORS (*Montelius, "Civilization of Sweden"*) 84

Four of these plates, with figures in relief, were found in 1870 in a cairn at Björnhofda in Öland (Sweden); they furnish a curious illustration of a Swedish warrior's accoutrements in the early wiking days.

LINES OF NORTHERN INVASIONS 85

SOLDIER, NINTH CENTURY 86

From a MS. in the archiepiscopal library at Lambeth, known as the Gospel-book of MacDurnan, who was abbot of Derry before 885, and archbishop of Armagh 885-927. The figure here given occurs in a picture of the Betrayal, and forms one of a group of soldiers whom the artist has clothed and armed as warriors of his own day.

COIN OF EADMUND OF EAST ANGLIA 87

ÆLFRED'S JEWEL 90

A jewel of blue enamel inclosed in a setting of gold, with the words round it, "Ælfred had me wrought"; found at Athelney in the seventeenth century, and now preserved in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford.

ENGLAND AT TREATY OF WEDMORE 91

COIN OF ÆLFRED 93

TOMBSTONE OF SUIBINE MAC MAELÆHUMAI (*Petrie and Stokes, "Christian Inscriptions in Ireland"*) 94

Suibine Mac Maelæhumai was an "anchorite and scribe of Clonmacnois," who died, according to the Irish annals, in 887. The *English Chronicle*, however, records the death of "Swifneh, the best teacher that was among the Scots," in 891 or 892, the same year in which three "Scots from Ireland" came to visit Ælfred. Suibine's tombstone is a "perfect type of the highly ornamental Irish cross . . . . offering fine examples of the divergent spiral and diagonal patterns peculiar to the early Celtic art of these islands." (Petrie and Stokes, i., 40.)

ST. MATTHEW 96

From the Gospel-book of MacDurnan (see above). This MS. illustrates a variety of Irish art differing from that represented by the Book of Kells; it contains no examples of the spiral pattern. The figures of the Evangelists are remarkable as giving early representations of the pastoral staff.

COIN OF EADWARD THE ELDER 99

THE CAMPAIGNS OF EADWARD AND ÆTHELFLÆD 100

ARCHER, TENTH CENTURY 100

One of the initial letters in a calendar, designed by an English hand, and prefixed to a Psalter traditionally said to have belonged to Æthelstan (MS. Cotton Galba A. xviii., British Museum).

FIGURE OF CHRIST, AND SILVER CUP (*Worsaae, "Industrial Arts of Denmark"*) 101

Found in the huge double barrow in which the heathen king Gorm the Old, founder of the Danish monarchy (c. 900 936), and his Christian wife Thyra, were buried side by side at Jelling in Jutland. The figure is of wood; it represents Christ, but is surrounded by the triskele, the old symbol of Woden. The cup is of silver, gilt inside, and ornamented with an old half mythological pattern of twisted snakes and fantastic animals.

COIN OF ÆTHELSTAN 101

S. JOHN THE EVANGELIST 102

From a Gospel-book (MS. Cotton Tiberius A. ii, British Museum) seemingly written in Germany, presented by the Saxon king, Otto I., to his brother-in-law Æthelstan, who—according to an inscription added in the fifteenth century—destined it for use at the crowning of English kings. A charter of Æthelstan to Archbishop Wulfhelm of Canterbury has been copied, in a contemporary hand, between the table of contents and the Eusebian Canons; and prefixed to the Gospel of S. Matthew, beneath an inscription in large golden Roman capitals, "Incipit Evangeliū secundū Mattheū," are the signatures

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"Odda Rex" and "Mihtild mater Regis." The figures of the Evangelists are placed each at the opening of his Gospel, within a border or canopy of classical design—almost Jacobean in character—but very rudely executed, S. John being by far the best. The great inferiority of German art to that of Ireland and England at this time is still more apparent in the writing of this book.

S. DUNSTAN AT THE FEET OF CHRIST 105
A drawing now in the Bodleian Library. The inscription at the top, in characters of the twelfth century, states that "the drawing and writing on this page are by S. Dunstan's own hand."

COIN OF EADGAR 107

NOAH'S ARK 108
From a MS. of Cædmon (Junius 11, Bodleian Library), written c. A.D. 1000. The Ark is represented in the form of a Danish ship.

EADGAR OFFERING UP HIS CHARTER FOR NEW MINSTER 109
From MS. Cotton Vespasian A. viii. (British Museum), a grant of privileges and benefits made by Eadgar in 966 to the New Minster founded by Ælfred at Winchester. This illumination forms the frontispiece to the Charter, and represents the King, with the Virgin on one side and S. Peter on the other, offering up his gift to our Lord in glory.

KING AND COURT 111
This scene, from MS. Bodl. Junius 11, represents Enos, son of Seth, and his family, under the guise of an English king of the tenth century, seated on his throne, sword in hand, with his thegns standing before him.

SILVER PENDANT (*Montelius*, "*Civilization of Sweden*") 114
This little figure of a woman holding a drinking-horn illustrates the old northern custom, so often mentioned in the Wiking Sagas, of women carrying the horn round to the warriors seated at the feast.

THE RAMSUNDSBERG, WEST SODERMANLAND (*Montelius*, "*Civilization of Sweden*") 114
A carving on the rock, consisting of scenes from the Saga of Sigurd Fafnis-bane, or the Dragon-slayer. Sigurd is seen plunging his sword into the dragon Fafni, whose long snake-like body, marked with runes, forms a sort of frame round a series of designs, representing the dwarf Regin with his forge, tongs, hammer, and bellows, Sigurd's horse Grane laden with the dragon's spoils, a tree on which are perched the two hawks who warned Sigurd of Regin's treachery, and the headless body of Regin, whom Sigurd slew.

OAK SHIP FROM TUNE, SOUTH NORWAY (*Montelius*, "*Civilization of Sweden*") 115
A Wiking ship, found in 1867 in a barrow at Tune, near Frederikstad. It was built nearly in the same fashion as that found in the Nydam bog (see p. 11), but had a mast. In this ship was found buried a man with his weapons and two horses.

SHIP FROM GOKSTAD (*Montelius*, "*Civilization of Sweden*") 115
Another ship of the same period, found in 1880, in a barrow at Gokstad, South Norway. It was seventy-eight feet long, pointed at both ends, had a mast and sixteen pairs of oars, and was decorated along the gunwale with a row of shields, of which there had been thirty-two on each side. The owner had been buried in a grave-chamber just behind the mast, with his weapons, twelve horses, six dogs, and a peacock. These two ships are now in the museum at Christiania.

NOAH'S ARK 116
From the MS. of Cædmon, Bodl. Junius 11. Here, as in the illustration from the same MS. given in p. 108, the Ark is represented as a Danish ship similar to those figured in p. 115, and steered, like them, by a rudder fastened near the stern on the side thence still called the starboard.

FIGURE OF CHRIST 119
An example of artistic treatment of figure and drapery, from a MS. of Ælfric's Paraphrase (MS. Cotton Claudius B. iv., British Museum); English work of the eleventh century.

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BOOK-SHRINE OR CUMDACH OF MOLAISE (*Stokes, "Early Christian Art in Ireland"*) 120

While in other lands the sacred books of the churches were often covered with splendid jewelled bindings, in Ireland the practice was to treat them as relics and enclose them in boxes or shrines. Such a box was called *cumdach*. The oldest now extant is that of the Gospel-book of Molaise of Devenish. Its date is shown by an inscription round the bottom of the box: "Pray for Cenn[failad], for the successor of Molaise, for whom this case [was made], and for Gillabaithin, the artist who made the . . . ." Cennfailad was abbot of Devenish 1001–1025. The case, formed of plates of bronze, is adorned with plates of silver with gilt patterns, riveted to the bronze foundation. On the face of the box are the symbols of the four Evangelists, with their names.

WOODEN CHURCH AT GREENSTEAD, ESSEX (*Vetusta Monumenta*) 121

In A.D. 1010 the body of S. Edmund was removed from Bury to London for fear of the Danes. Three years later it was brought back, and on its way rested at Greenstead, near Ongar, in Essex, where a wooden chapel was built in its honour. The remains of this chapel still exist; in 1748, the date of the engraving from which this illustration is copied, the building was entire, though much decayed. It formed the nave of the church, a small chancel having been added. The original fabric was 29 feet 9 inches long, 14 feet wide, and 5 feet 6 inches high at the sides, which supported the primitive roof. The walls were composed of the trunks of large oak trees, split and roughly hewed on both sides, set upright close to each other, let into a low sill of brickwork at the base, and fastened by wooden pins into a frame of rough timber at the top. The window in the roof was no part of the original structure, which had no inlet for the light, having been designed only as a temporary resting-place for the body of the saint.

COIN OF CNUT 122

CNUT AND EMMA MAKING A DONATION TO NEW MINSTER 123

This illustration, similar in character and subject to that on p. 109, occurs in the MS. Stowe 944 (British Museum), a Register of New Minster written in the time of Cnut. "Cnut Rex" and "Ælfgyfu Regina" (Emma, Æthelred's widow and Cnut's wife) are shown confirming their donation, according to custom, on the altar of the Minster.

CARTS, ELEVENTH CENTURY 124

Drawn by oxen, driven by means of a goad; from MS. Cotton Claudius B. iv.

AGRICULTURE 125

From the same MS. This drawing shows some of the implements used in the fields—the rake, the reaping-hook, the pitchfork—and the peasants carrying their burthens home when the day's work is done.

AGRICULTURE 125

PLOUGHING 126

MAKING WATTLED ENCLOSURE 126

SAILING VESSELS AND BOATS 127

All from MS. Harleian 603 (British Museum); a Psalter, English work of the eleventh century, with drawings imitated in a larger and more vigorous style from those in the Utrecht Psalter, a work of the eighth or ninth century, probably written in Northern Gaul. The wattled enclosure is not in the Utrecht MS., and therefore really represents the making of an old English "burh." The boats are copied, but the English artist has much improved the insignificant cherubs' heads of the original, adding wings and the breath coming from their mouths.

KING AND MINISTER DOING JUSTICE AT A GATE 129

An illustration, from MS. Cotton Claudius B. iv., of the practice common to all early civilizations, of rulers "sitting in the gate" of city or palace, to receive suitors and administer justice.

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BEDS, ELEVENTH CENTURY (*MS. Cotton Claudius B. iv.*) 132

CHARIOT (*MS. Cotton Claudius B. iv.*) 132

ABBEY CHURCH OF S. STEPHEN AT CAEN 134

Built by William the Conqueror, who was buried in it. The choir has been rebuilt; the nave, here represented, stands exactly as he left it.

CASTLE OF ARQUES 139

"A fortress which is undoubtedly one of the earliest and most important in the history of Norman military architecture." "One of the few examples still remaining of the castles which were raised by the turbulent Norman baronage in the stormy days of William's minority" (Freeman, *Norman Conquest*, iii. 122). It was built, in defiance of the boy-duke, by his uncle William of Arques.

ABBEY CHURCH OF JUMIÈGES 143

Begun in 1040 by Abbot Robert, who became Bishop of London 1044, was Archbishop of Canterbury 1051-1052, and died 1058. The church was finished then, but not consecrated till 1067 by Archbishop Maurilius of Rouen. The choir was rebuilt in the next century.

SCENES FROM THE BAYEUX TAPESTRY 145, 147

This tapestry is now in the Public Library at Bayeux. The earliest known mention of it occurs in an inventory of the goods of the cathedral church of Bayeux in 1476: "Item. Une tente tres longue et etroite de telle à broderie de ymages et escripteaulx [escripteaulx] faisans representation du Conquest d'Angleterre, laquelle est tendue environ la nef de l'Eglise le jour et par les octaves des Reliques." It begins with Harold's journey to Normandy and ends abruptly with the flight of the English rustics at Senlac after his fall. The original end has evidently been cut or torn off; but the work was never finished, for many of the figures in its latter part are merely traced in outline, not filled in like the rest. Its date has been much disputed; all that can be said with certainty is that it must lie between 1066 and the early years of the thirteenth century.

SEAL OF WILLIAM THE CONQUEROR 151

The reverse of his second great seal; reproduced as giving the best authentic portrait of our first Norman King.

ARCHER, ELEVENTH CENTURY (*MS. Cott. Claud. B. iv.*) 152

THE TWELVE MONTHS 155, 157, 159

From a calendar prefixed to a Hymnarium, English work of the eleventh century (MS. Cotton Julius A. vi.). The scenes represent the occupations of men in each month of the year.

CHAPEL OF S. JOHN THE EVANGELIST IN THE WHITE TOWER, LONDON. . . 160

Built by William the Conqueror.

TOWER OF EARL'S BARTON CHURCH 162

The primitive Romanesque architecture of England before the coming of the Normans is now represented only by the little church at Bradford (see p. 68) and by a few church towers, of which Earl's Barton, in Northamptonshire, is the finest. They are distinguished by their tall square form, by the absence of buttresses, by their decoration of pilaster strips, and especially by their windows, which usually consist of two or more round-headed lights grouped together and divided by a mid-wall shaft or baluster. The parapet at Earl's Barton was added later.

TOWER OF TASBURGH CHURCH, NORFOLK 162

This seems to be the earliest of the round towers, built of rough flint, which are peculiar to the ecclesiastical architecture of East Anglia. It probably dates from the twelfth century; the upper part was rebuilt in 1385.

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A BANQUET . . . . . *To face p.* 163
From MS. Cotton Tiberius C. vi. (British Museum), a Psalter, English work of the eleventh century.

BUILDING, ELEVENTH CENTURY (*MS. Cott. Claud. B. iv.*) 164
Illustrates the insertion of a timber gable into stone-work.

DIGGING, ELEVENTH CENTURY (*MS. Cott. Claud. B. iv.*) 165

SEAL OF ST. ANSELM (*Ducarel, "Anglo-Norman Antiquities"*) 167

GREAT SEAL OF HENRY I. 169
Reverse of Henry's fourth seal. The legend, "Henricus Dei gratia dux Normannorum," shows that it dates from after 1106.

MILKING AND CHURN, A.D. 1130—1174 170

WEAVING, A.D. 1130—1174 171
From MS. Trinity College, Cambridge, R. 17, 1, a Psalter, written and illustrated between 1130 and 1174 by Eadwine, a monk of Christ Church, Canterbury, who has placed his own portrait at the end of his work. It contains three different Latin versions of the Psalms, Gallican, Roman, and Hebraic, in parallel columns; the Gallican version has an interlinear gloss in Latin, the Roman has one in old English, and the Hebraic one in Norman French. Philologically it is of great value; and the writing is scarcely less interesting, as it shows a transition from the square forms of the earlier MSS. to the more ornate style of the modern Gothic hand. It is, like MS. Harl. 603 (see above, p. ix), a copy of the Utrecht Psalter, but more freely treated. The milking and churn seem to be original, and therefore English. In the weaving new details are added in Eadwine's copy.

LOOM AND DISTAFF FROM THE FÆROE ISLES (*Montelius, "Civilization of Sweden"*) 172
The distaff and loom still used by the women of the Faeroe Isles preserve the primitive forms which their ancestors used a thousand years ago.

BUILDING . . . . . } (*MS. Harl. 603, after Utrecht Psalter*) 173
GROUP ROUND A TABLE }
The fortification is after the Roman manner, as in the Utrecht MS. The table is Roman; the figures have been added and are English.

MAP OF EARLY LONDON 174

NORMAN TOWER, S. EDMUNDSBURY (*from a photograph*) 176
This tower, probably built by Abbot Baldwin (1067—1097), formed the entrance into the churchyard opposite the west end of the Abbey Church, and may have served as a campanile.

THE ABBOT'S BRIDGE, S. EDMUNDSBURY 177
Built early in the thirteenth century.

MEN IN PRISON AND IN STOCKS, A.D. 1130—1174 (*Eadwine's Psalter*) 178
English; not in Utrecht Psalter.

SCENES FROM THE LIFE OF S. GUTHLAC (*MS. Harleian Roll Y. vi.*) 179
Anglo-Norman pictures, twelfth century, of S. Guthlac's life. For his cell at Crowland, c. A.D. 700, see p. 60, and for Æthelbald's visit p. 69.

HOSPITAL OF S. GILES-IN-THE-FIELDS, LONDON 180
Drawn by Matthew Paris in his Chronicle, MS. Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, xxvi. This hospital for lepers was founded by Matilda, wife of Henry I.

SEAL OF S. BARTHOLOMEW'S PRIORY, SMITHFIELD 180
From the impression attached to the deed of surrender of the Priory to Henry VIII., Aug. Deeds of Surrender of Monasteries, 136 (Public Record Office).

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CHURCH OF THE HOLY SEPULCHRE, CAMBRIDGE 181

Built by a Brotherhood of the Holy Sepulchre, to whom the Abbot and Convent of Ramsey gave for that purpose, between 1114 and 1130, a burial-ground which they possessed at Cambridge. This Brotherhood was probably a band of pilgrims who had gone to the Holy Land together; for the church which they built is clearly imitated from that which covers the traditional site of our Lord's Sepulchre at Jerusalem.

ORGAN, A.D. 1130—1174 (*Eadwine's Psalter*) 182

A somewhat unusual representation of an organ with two players and two bellows; copied from the Utrecht Psalter.

THE EXCHEQUER, A.D. 1130—1174 (*Eadwine's Psalter*) 184

Better drawn than the original in the Utrecht Psalter; the headgear of the presiding officer is altered from the crown with balls on it given in the Utrecht MS. The picture illustrates the weighing of the money received at the Exchequer, which was customary under Henry I. and Bishop Roger and is described in the *Dialogus de Scaccario*, written by Roger's grand-nephew, towards the end of the century.

ARCHES OF CLOISTER OF S. AUBIN'S ABBEY, ANGERS 187

The Abbey of S. Aubin, founded in Merovingian times, seems to have been rebuilt by Geoffrey Greygown and Fulk the Black. "Only one huge tower remains, but fragments of it are still to be seen embedded in the buildings of the Préfecture—above all a Romanesque arcade, fretted with tangled imagery and apocalyptic figures of the richest work of the eleventh century" ("Stray Studies," p. 369). This arcade, here figured, seems to have been part of the cloister.

DURTAL, ANJOU 189

Most of Fulk Nerra's castles were rebuilt in the fifteenth century, Durtal among them, but some of his work still remains in the keep. The little town has kept a remarkably old-world aspect, and town and castle together form one of the most picturesque illustrations of the peculiar character stamped on the country by its early counts, especially by Fulk the Black.

EFFIGY OF GEOFFREY PLANTAGENET, COUNT OF ANJOU 191

Geoffrey was buried in Le Mans Cathedral. The richly enamelled tablet that covered his tomb is now in the local museum.

THE "STANDARD," A.D. 1138 193

From MS. Arundel 150 (British Museum), an early thirteenth century copy of part of the Chronicle of Roger of Howden.

GREAT SEAL OF THE EMPRESS MATILDA 194

This is the only seal which Matilda is known to have used; its legend, "Mathildis Romanorum Regina," shows that it was made for her in Germany before her first husband's crowning at Rome, A.D. 1111.

SEAL OF BISHOP HENRY OF WINCHESTER (*Journal of the Archæological Association*) 196

MAP OF THE DOMINIONS OF THE ANGEVINS . . . . . *To face p.* 197

CANTERBURY CATHEDRAL MONASTERY, A.D. 1130—1174 (*Eadwine's Psalter*) . 200

This plan or bird's-eye view, which covers two pages of a large folio volume, represents church and monastery as they were from 1130, when the church, rebuilt by Lanfranc and his successors, was consecrated by William of Corbeil, till 1174, when the choir was burnt down.

SEAL OF S. THOMAS OF CANTERBURY (*Journal of Archæological Association*) . 201

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MITRE OF S. THOMAS 201

Of white silk, embroidered with gold braid; one of a set of vestments now in the Cathedral at Sens, and traditionally said to have belonged to the martyr.

S. THOMAS AND HERBERT OF BOSHAM 202

Initial at the beginning of a thirteenth century MS. (Trinity College, Cambridge, B. 5. 4) of Herbert's Gloss on the Psalter. Herbert was the favourite secretary of St. Thomas, and strongly encouraged his opposition to the King.

SANCTUARY KNOCKER, DURHAM 203

FRITHSTOOL, HEXHAM PRIORY (*Jusserand, "Wayfaring Life"*) 203

The regulations as to sanctuary varied in different places. At Durham the fugitive had to knock at the door on the north side of the nave of the Cathedral with the bronze knocker (twelfth century work) which hangs there still. As soon as he was admitted, the bell of the Galilee was tolled, to give notice that some one had taken sanctuary; a black robe with a yellow cross on the left shoulder was given him, and he was lodged "on a grate on the south side, near the door and near the altar"—*i.e.* apparently the altar of the Galilee. At Hexham the limits of the sactuary were marked by four crosses, but the fugitive was not absolutely safe from pursuit till he reached the frithstool or peace chair. The Hexham frithstool dates from the twelfth century. Only one other now remains in England, at Beverley Minster.

S. THOMAS EXCOMMUNICATING HIS ENEMIES, AND ARGUING WITH HENRY AND LEWIS . . . . .

PARTING OF S. THOMAS AND THE TWO KINGS . . . . . } 205, 206

CROWNING OF THE YOUNG KING; HIS CORONATION-BANQUET . . . .

S. THOMAS EMBARKING FOR ENGLAND . . . . .

Four out of eight pictures forming the earliest series of illustrations of the history of S. Thomas, and also one of the best examples of the development of the French style of illumination in English hands. They occur in a French life of the saint, written in England 1230—1260, and are far superior in drawing to contemporary illuminations of French workmanship. They are here reproduced from the facsimiles in M. Paul Meyer's edition of the "Vie de S. Thomas" (Société des anciens textes français), the MS. being in a private collection at Courtrai. The second half of the third picture represents an incident at the coronation-banquet of the young King, when his father chose to serve him at table, and the youth remarked that it was but just for the son of an earl to serve the son of a king.

MARTYRDOM OF S. THOMAS . . . . . *To face p.* 207

Owing to the order issued by Henry VIII. in 1538 for the destruction of all pictures and images of "Bishop Becket," and the erasure of all mention of him from the service-books, medieval representations of S. Thomas of Canterbury are extremely rare in England. The earliest now remaining is here for the first time reproduced, from MS. Harleian 5102 (British Museum), a Psalter written in Normandy, and illuminated by an English hand, early in the thirteenth century. It tells the story of the martyrdom in graphic detail, and in close agreement with the contemporary accounts. The two foremost murderers, Fitz Urse and Tracy, are in the full armour of their time, a whole suit of ring-mail; each carries an enormous shield; the third knight partly hidden behind them, and also clad in ring-mail, is doubtless Richard le Breton, while the fourth, whose bare head alone is visible, represents Hugh de Morville, who took no part in the murder, but merely guarded the door. The archbishop's cap is falling to the ground, struck off, as stated by William of Canterbury (an eye-witness), by the first blow of Fitz Urse, whose sword just touches the head of Thomas, and who is identified by the rampant bear on his shield. Tracy's shield is blank, evidently unfinished; he

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occasion carried the archbishop's cross. This blow is described by all the contemporary biographers of S. Thomas, though there is some question as to the identity of the striker; the weight of evidence, however, goes to show that he was Tracy. It has been asserted that there is no authority for the introduction of the cross, whether held by Grim or by Thomas himself—a detail which, in one form or the other, occurs in all extant pictures, and all later medieval accounts of the scene; but the assertion is incorrect; the Icelandic Thomas Saga, which, though compiled in the fourteenth century, represents two very early biographies now lost, states distinctly that Grim "bore the cross," and a letter written within a few weeks of the event describes Thomas as dying "cross in hand"; evidently he took it from Grim when the latter was disabled by the blow represented here. The round arches over the heads of the group are, like the accoutrement of the knights, evidence of the early date of the picture. The hanging lamp is also worth notice. The walls and towers above are probably meant for those which encircled the cathedral precincts.

MARTYRDOM OF S. THOMAS 207

Drawn by Matthew Paris in the margin of his Greater Chronicle, MS. Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, xxvi.

"CAPUT THOMÆ"—SIGN OF A CANTERBURY PILGRIM (*Wright, "Archæological Album"*) 208

Gerald of Wales tells how he and his fellow-pilgrims returned from Canterbury "with the signs of S. Thomas hung round their necks." Chaucer's pilgrims "set their signys upon theyr hedes, and som oppon theyr capp." These signs, or brooches, were common at places of pilgrimage, and consisted of thin sheets of lead having figures or devices stamped on them, and mostly showing traces of having had a pin at the back. The one here figured was found in the Thames at London.

GREAT SEAL OF THE YOUNG KING HENRY, SON OF HENRY II 208

Only one impression of this seal is known; it is attached to a charter in Canterbury Cathedral Library.

TOWER OF HADISCOE THORPE CHURCH, NORFOLK 210

A round tower of the later twelfth century. It is built of flint, squared and arranged in a pattern at the top. The transition from Romanesque to Gothic is shown in some of the windows, with pointed arches and square abaci.

EFFIGY OF HENRY II. (*Stothard, "Monumental Effigies"*) 212

From his tomb at Fontevraud.

GREAT SEAL OF RICHARD I. 214

Obverse of his first seal, 1189 1198.

CHÂTEAU-GAILLARD FROM THE EAST (*After J. M. W. Turner*) 217

CHÂTEAU-GAILLARD FROM THE SOUTH (*After J. M. W. Turner*) 220

ANCIENT SWORD OF STATE, ISLE OF MAN (*Publications of Manx Society*) . . . 221

Formerly borne before the kings or lords of Man, and still borne before the governor at the promulgation of laws in the Tynwald. The Isle of Man is the only place where the ancient Scandinavian custom of proclaiming the laws on a hill, in the open air, has been preserved; it has been practised there since the time of the Scandinavian Kings. The sword is of late twelfth or early thirteenth century work, exactly like that represented on King John's tomb at Worcester. It is 3 ft. 6 in. long, and was once 4 or 5 in. longer, but its point is broken. Near the rest on each side of the hilt are the arms of Man, with a curious triangle in the centre.

NAMING OF S. JOHN THE BAPTIST . . . . . *To face p.* 221

Copied, by permission of the Kent Archæological Society, from a reproduction in "Archæologia Cantiana" of an early twelfth century painting in tempera, on the wall of the crypt under the chapel of S. Anselm in Canterbury Cathedral.

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MONK ILLUMINATING 223

From MS. Bodleian 602, a Bestiarium, written about A.D. 1200. The artist is scraping the surface of the vellum with his left hand, ready to draw on it with the right.

FAUNA OF IRELAND ACCORDING TO GERALD OF WALES 225

The birds, beasts and fishes here grouped together are marginal illustrations in a contemporary MS. of Gerald's Topography of Ireland (MS. Roy. 13 B. viii., British Museum). They are a fox, two rats, a wolf, barnacle-geese, a beaver, a marten, a mole, a stag, a black stork, a marvellous fish found at Carlingford, having three golden teeth, a crane, a badger, a weasel, a hind or doe, two kingfishers perched on a shamrock plant, a spider, a snake, and a mouse. Three of these animals, the beaver, the mole, and the snake, Gerald specially notes as not existing in Ireland.

HEDGEHOGS AND TREES 226

From MS. Bodleian 602.

SHOOTING BIRDS IN TREES 227

From MS. Ashmolean 1511 (Bodleian Library), a Bestiarium, c. A.D. 1200.

GLUTTONY 228

This little picture of a priest greedily eating cakes or tarts out of a dish held up to him by a demon is from a book of Saints' Lives (MS. Arundel, 91, British Museum), English work, of about the same date as the "Goliath" writings.

MAP OF LONDON IN THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY 231

From the Rev W. J. Loftie's "History of London."

KNIGHT AND SLINGER 235

From MS. Roy. 1 D. x. (British Museum); a Psalter, English work, early thirteenth century.

THE BATTLE OF BOUVINES 236

From MS. Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, xvi., the second volume of the *Chronica Majora*, written and illustrated by the hand of Matthew Paris. The drawing represents the turning-point in the battle. In a charge led by one of John's captains, Hugh de Boves, the King of France was unhorsed and nearly slain. One of his soldiers saved him at the cost of his own life, and a rally of the French put Hugh and his followers to flight.

SEAL OF STEPHEN LANGTON 237

From an impression attached to Harleian Charter 75 A. 14, British Museum.

SEAL OF ROBERT FITZWALTER 239

From the original seal, in the British Museum.

THE GREAT CHARTER 241

Four contemporary copies of the charter remain; one at Lincoln, one at Salisbury, two in the British Museum. The facsimile, reduced to rather more than a third of the original size, is from one of these last; the other, which alone of the four has "the royal seal still hanging" from it (see p. 240), is so "injured by age and fire" as to be illegible.

EFFIGY OF KING JOHN, ON HIS TOMB (*Stothard*, "*Monumental Effigies*") . 243

John's tomb now stands in the middle of the choir of Worcester Cathedral It was originally in the Lady Chapel at the east end, between the graves of S. Oswald and S. Wulfstan, Bishops of Worcester, who are therefore represented on either side of the King.

EFFIGY OF WILLIAM MARSHAL, ON HIS TOMB 245

In the Temple Church, London. The figure is sculptured in Sussex marble; it is here copied from Richardson's "Monumental Effigies in the Temple Church."

MAP OF EARLY OXFORD 248

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SOUTH VIEW OF BOCARDO, AND TOWER OF S. MICHAEL'S CHURCH, OXFORD (*Skelton*, "*Oxonia Antiqua Restaurata*") 249

The north gate of Oxford, made strong for purposes of defence, passed after the Barons' War into the hands of the mayor and bailiffs; under Henry III. it was already used as a prison for town malefactors, and under Edward II., if not earlier, "for scollers for little faults." In 1555 it was the prison of Latimer and Ridley, and in 1556 of Cranmer. Its common name, Bocardo (of unknown meaning), dates from the time of Henry III. It was taken down in 1771. The tower of S. Michael's Church, seen behind it, was built temp. Henry I.

OLD CHURCH OF S. MARTIN, OXFORD (*Skelton*, "*Oxonia Antiqua Restaurata*") 249

From Oxford's earliest days "the church of S. Martin in the very heart of it, at the Quatrevoix or Carfax where its four roads meet, was the centre of the city's life. The Town-mote was held in its churchyard" ("Stray Studies," p. 356). The original church was, as Anthony Wood says, "of a most ancient erection and beyond all record." The view here reproduced shows that its exterior must have been greatly altered, if not rebuilt, about the time of Edward III. Wood says that "the tower, which of old time was high, and of a more statly bulke, as also some part of their church, was by the command of King Edward III., in the fourteenth year of his raign (1340), taken downe lower, as now it is; because upon the complaint of schollers the townsmen would in times of combat with them retire up there as their castle and from thence gall and annoi them with arrows and stones, &c." This tower is the only part of the church now remaining.

WATCH-TOWER ON HYTHE BRIDGE, OXFORD, CALLED "FRIAR BACON'S STUDY" (*Skelton*, "*Oxonia Antiqua Restaurata*") 250

Built in twelfth or early thirteenth century; taken down 1779.

HYTHE BRIDGE AND CASTLE TOWER, OXFORD (*Skelton*, "*Oxonia Antiqua Restaurata*") 251

Hythe Bridge (so called from the hythe or landing-place) gave entrance to Oxford on the west. It seems to have been first built in 1085; the present bridge dates from about 1383. The tower of the castle, seen in the distance, was built in 1091.

HOME FOR CONVERTED JEWS, OXFORD (*Skelton*, "*Oxonia Antiqua Restaurata*") 251

In 1228 a house which lay on the western edge of the Lesser Jewry, in Fish Street a little below Carfax, was owned by a Jew named David. From him it passed to Henry III., who founded there, in 1235, a home for converted Jews. In the sixteenth century the Guildhall was built next it, and in 1750 both were taken down for the erection of a new Town Hall.

RUINS OF OSNEY ABBEY 252

Osney was an Augustinian house, founded 1129, rebuilt 1247. Not a stone of it remains; the view here given is from an engraving by Hollar, in the seventeenth century.

S. FRIDESWIDE'S PRIORY CHURCH, OXFORD 253

This view is reproduced from Ingram's "Memorials of Oxford," to show as much as possible of the church in its original state, temp. Henry I., and as little as possible of the changes which it has since undergone. It was first altered by Wolsey to form the chapel of Cardinal College, founded on the site of the old Austin priory. Henry VIII. changed the name of the college to Christchurch, and in 1545 made its chapel the cathedral church of the new diocese of Oxford.

SEAL OF OXFORD UNIVERSITY, c. 1300 (*Ingram*, "*Memorials of Oxford*") . . 254

SEAL OF OXFORD CITY (*Ingram*, "*Memorials of Oxford*") 255

HOSPITAL AT OXFORD, BUILT BY HENRY III. 256

A drawing by Matthew Paris, in his autograph, "Historia Anglorum," MS. Roy. 14 C. vii. (British Museum). A hospital for sick persons and pilgrims was founded in John's reign outside the east gate of Oxford, and

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dedicated to S. John the Baptist. Henry III. rebuilt it in 1233. In 1456 its site was granted by Henry VI. to Waynflete, Bishop of Winchester, for the erection of Magdalene College.

AUSTIN FRIARY, OXFORD (*Skelton*, "*Oxonia Antiqua Restaurata*") 257

Founded in 1268 by Henry III.; dissolved 1539. Wadham College was founded on its site in 1613. The buildings here pictured, the last remnant of those erected for the Friars by Henry III., were taken down in 1801.

BIHAM HALL AND POSTMASTERS' HALL, OXFORD (*Skelton*, "*Oxonia Antiqua Restaurata*") 258

Postmasters' Hall (the high building with dormer windows) was founded c. 1380 by Dr. John Willyott as a residence for certain exhibitioners of Merton, called Portionists and afterwards Postmasters. In 1595 these Postmasters moved into Merton College; their house became a private residence, and the Oxford historian Anthony Wood was born there in 1632. Biham Hall, which stood next it, seems to have been a lodging-house for clerks or students as early as Henry III.'s time. It is now used as stables for Merton College.

GLOUCESTER HALL (NOW WORCESTER COLLEGE), OXFORD 259

This college was founded in 1283, as a residence for thirteen monks to be chosen out of the brotherhood at Gloucester and sent to study at Oxford. It was afterwards empowered to receive Benedictine students from other monasteries, and the buildings were enlarged to that end in 1298. After the dissolution of the monasteries it became a dependency of S. John's College, till in 1714 it passed to Sir Thomas Cookes, a Worcestershire gentleman, who re-established it on a new footing under the title of Worcester College. A considerable part of the buildings erected in 1298 still remains; the present illustration is from a drawing made by David Loggan c. 1673, when they were very little altered, save by decay—for the college went to ruin after the Civil War—and the building of a new chapel.

OLD BUILDINGS OF MERTON COLLEGE, OXFORD (*Skelton*, "*Oxonia Antiqua Restaurata*") 260

Walter de Merton, Bishop of Rochester 1274, Chancellor to Henry III. 1260–3, and to Edward I. 1273–7, founded in 1264 a House of Scholars at Malden in Surrey, for the support of twenty students, who were to live together, under certain rules or statutes, at Oxford or some other University. In 1274 he settled the students definitely at Oxford, transferred the Malden house thither, and drew up for the college thus established a set of statutes which laid the foundation of the collegiate system. It is doubtful whether any part of his building now remains. That here represented seems to have been erected early in the fourteenth century, perhaps for a refectory, on the site of two houses which he purchased to form the nucleus of his college. It stood on the west side of S. Alban's Hall, facing the present college buildings, and was demolished in 1812.

CORONATION AND UNCTION OF A KING 267

From MS. Cambridge University Library Ee. iii. 59; a French Life of S. Edward the Confessor, written and illuminated in England, dedicated to Queen Eleanor of Provence, and probably presented to her at the restoration of Westminster Abbey in 1245. The coronation here intended is that of Edward, but the youthful figure of the king is probably a portrait of Henry III.

CONSECRATION OF A BISHOP 269

From Matthew Paris's "Vitæ Duarum Offarum," MS. Cotton Nero D. i. (British Museum); probably by Matthew's own hand.

HENRY III. SAILING TO BRITANNY, 1230 (*MS. Roy. 14 C. vii.*) 270

HUBERT DE BURGH IN SANCTUARY AT MERTON, 1232 (*MS. Roy. 14 C. vii.*) . 271

HENRY III. CARRYING THE HOLY BLOOD IN PROCESSION TO WESTMINSTER (*MS. C. C. C. Camb. xvi.*) 271

These illustrations are from drawings by Matthew Paris. In 1247 Henry received from the Holy Land a crystal vessel said to contain some drops of the Blood of Christ. The King carried it in procession to Westminster on S. Edward's Day, October 13.

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MARRIAGE OF HENRY III. (*MS. Roy.* 14 *C. vii.*) 272
By Matthew Paris

A ROYAL MARRIAGE (*MS. Cott. Nero D. i.*) 273
Probably by Matthew Paris.

EDMUND, SON OF HENRY III., IN HIS CRADLE, 1244 (*MS. Roy.* 14 *C. vii.*) . 273
By Matthew Paris.

KING AND COURT (*MS. Cott. Nero D. i.*) 274
Probably by Matthew Paris.

CONSECRATION OF ARCHBISHOP EDMUND (*MS. Roy.* 14 *C. vii.*) 275
This illustration and the three following are from drawings by Matthew Paris.

HENRY III. SAILING HOME FROM GASCONY, 1243 (*MS. Roy.* 14 *C. vii.*) . . 276

LEGATINE COUNCIL IN LONDON, 1237 (*MS. Roy.* 14 *C. vii.*) 277

MATTHEW PARIS AT THE FEET OF THE VIRGIN AND CHILD (*MS. Roy.* 14 *C. vii.*) . . . . . *To face p.* 278

THE PAPAL COURT (*MS. Camb. Univ. Lib. Ee. iii.* 59) 279

FOUNDATION OF A MINSTER (*MS. Cott. Nero D i.*) 280, 281
Probably by Matthew Paris.

JOHN OF WALLINGFORD 283
Monk of St. Alban's, 1231-1258, and writer or transcriber of the Chronicle (MS. Cotton Julius D. vii., British Museum) in which this portrait is inserted, probably by Matthew Paris.

A FRANCISCAN (*MS. C. C. C. Camb. xvi.*) 284
By Matthew Paris.

ALEXANDER HALES, FRANCISCAN 287
From a MS. in Cambridge University Library, Mm. v. 31—a contemporary, possibly autograph, MS. of a Commentary on the Apocalypse by Alexander of Hales, who is here portrayed in his Franciscan habit, and in the act of receiving the Holy Communion. Born at Hales in Gloucestershire, Alexander studied in Paris and became a famous teacher of philosophy. He joined the order of S. Francis in 1228 and died in 1250.

SIMON DE MONTFORT 289
From a glass-painting in a window of Chartres Cathedral, c. 1231.

SEAL OF SIMON DE MONTFORT 291
From an impression in the British Museum.

KINGS IN ARMOUR (*MS Camb. Univ. Lib. Ee. iii.* 59) 293
This illumination represents a single combat between Eadmund Ironside and Cnut. It is here given as an illustration of armour and horse-trappings c. 1245.

THE TOWER OF LONDON 295
From a reproduction in "Vetusta Monumenta" of "A true and exact draught of the Tower Liberties, surveyed in the year 1597 by Gulielmus Hayward and J. Gascoyne," to illustrate "A Description of the Tower . . . made by direction of Sir John Peyton." There is every reason to believe that the Tower and its surroundings were (save for the guns) virtually unaltered since the thirteenth century.

KING OF FRANCE 297
An illumination inserted at the end of a Psalter, MS. Roy. 2 A. xxii. (British Museum). It is of the thirteenth century, and is supposed to represent a French king, from the fleur-de-lis on the robe.

VIEW OF LEWES, FROM THE DOWNS NEAR MOUNT HARRY 299
Mount Harry, popularly supposed to be named after Henry III., is the highest point of the Downs north-west of Lewes. The castle stood on the north side of the town, the priory on the south.

KNIGHT IN ARMOUR (*MS. Roy. 2. A. xxii.*) 303

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THE VIRGIN AND CHILD (*MS. Roy. 2. A. xxii.*) . . . . . *To face p.* 305

FACSIMILE FROM RED BOOK OF HERGEST 307
This book, now in the Bodleian Library, but belonging to Jesus College, Oxford, contains the best existing text of the Mabinogion. It is a fine Welsh MS. of the fourteenth century. The page here given is the opening of the story of Geraint and Enid.

MAP TO ILLUSTRATE THE WELSH WARS OF WILLIAM RUFUS AND HENRY I. 310
From Mr. Freeman's "William Rufus."

KEEP OF BRIDGENORTH CASTLE 311
Built by Robert of Belesme in 1101-2; known as "the leaning tower of Bridgenorth," the castle having been blown up by the Parliamentary troops in the Civil War, and the tower thus thrown out of perpendicular.

CARDIFF CASTLE 312
The polygonal shell-keep was probably built by Earl Robert of Gloucester, son of Henry I. and son-in-law and successor to Robert Fitz-Hamo. The mound on which it stands was either Fitz-Hamo's own work, or was already there before his time. The rest of the building here shown, a gate-tower leading to the keep, dates from the early fifteenth century.

PEMBROKE CASTLE 314
The finest example in England of a very rare type of military architecture. The keep is not a shell, as circular keeps usually are, but a real donjon, as solid as the square keeps of Richmond or Rochester. It was built by the De Clares or the Marshals, early in the thirteenth century.

WELSH FOOTSOLDIER AND ARCHER 315
From an entry-book of Edward I.'s time, formerly among the documents pertaining to the Treasury of Receipt of Exchequer, and kept in the Chapter-house at Westminster; now transferred to the Public Record Office, where the book is known as Chapter house Liber A.

LADY CHAPEL, GLASTONBURY 316
Glastonbury abbey church was burnt down in 1184. The rebuilding was begun at once, and the first part completed was the Lady Chapel at the west end. In the fifteenth century it became better known as the chapel of S. Joseph of Arimathea, who was regarded as the original founder of the church on whose site it stood—the "ancient church" beside which Ine had reared his abbey (see p. 67). Its architecture is extremely interesting; Norman ornamentation is combined with a French type of capitals and mouldings to produce a style which as a whole is thoroughly English, a peculiarly graceful form assumed in Somerset, and especially at Glastonbury, by the transition from Romanesque to Gothic which was taking place in the later years of Henry II.

LLANTHONY PRIORY, GLAMORGANSHIRE 317
An Austin priory, founded in 1108. The establishment was removed to Gloucester in 1139, but the old house (near Abergavenny) lived on as a cell to the new one, and was rebuilt c. 1200-1220. It is an interesting example of a peculiar type of Transition architecture, seen in its perfection in South Wales.

GRIFFIN ESCAPING FROM THE TOWER 318
Griffin, a son of Llewelyn ap Jorwerth, was betrayed by his brother David to the English, and imprisoned in the Tower. In 1243 he tried to escape, but the rope broke and he fell and broke his neck. The drawing is by Matthew Paris (MS. Corpus Christi College Cambridge xvi.).

REMAINS OF BISHOP'S PALACE, S. DAVID'S 319
Built c. 1342 by Gower, who was bishop 1328-1347. The finest specimen of a peculiar and very beautiful type of Decorated architecture, of which Bishop Gower seems to have been the inventor, and which may be traced in several other buildings in Pembrokeshire.

CONWAY CASTLE 321
Begun 1285, and finished before the death of Edward I.

CAERNARVON CASTLE 321
Built 1283-1322.

GREAT SEAL OF EDWARD I. 323

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THE CHANCELLOR'S SEAL BAG (*Journal of Archæological Association*) . 325
Sculptured on the tomb of Walter de Merton, in Rochester Cathedral. Walter died in 1277.

SEAL OF STATUTE MERCHANT, GLOUCESTER, 1307—27 (*Collection of Society of Antiquaries*) 327
Under the Statute of Merchants, issued in 1283 and re-issued in 1285, merchants could have their debts enrolled before the Mayor of London or of some other appointed town; the obligation was sealed with the seals of the debtor and of the king, and if the debtor failed to pay in due time it served as a warrant for his attachment. The seal here figured bears the image not of Edward I. but of his son, and was made for the purposes of this statute under Edward II.

SEAL OF WILLIAM MORAUNT (*Archæological Journal*) 328
This seal, representing the owner's manor-house, is attached to a deed dated June, 1272, whereby William Moraunt grants to Peter Picard one acre of land at Otford, in Kent.

MANOR-HOUSE, ACTON BURNELL, SHROPSHIRE (*Archæological Journal*) . . . 328
Built by Robert Burnell, Bishop of Bath and Chancellor to Edward I. The king's license to crenellate is dated 1283; the Parliament of Acton Burnell therefore was probably not held in the new manor-house, which could hardly have been finished in a year, but, according to local tradition, in a neighbouring building still called "the Parliament house," of which only the two end gables now remain.

SIR JOHN D'ABERNON, 1277 (*Macklin, "Monumental Brasses"*) 332
This is said to be the earliest existing English brass. It is in Stoke D'Abernon Church, Surrey.

MAN WITH BOW AND ARROWS, WOMAN WITH DISTAFF, FOURTEENTH CENTURY 333
From a Psalter known as Queen Mary's (MS. Roy. 2 B. vii., British Museum). This and the two following illustrations are given here to show the dress of English peasants in the time of the Edwards.

BOB-APPLE (*MS. Roy. 2 B. vii.*) 334

CLUB-BALL 334
From MS. Roy. 10 E. iv. (British Museum), a splendid copy of the Decretals, once the property of S. Bartholomew's Priory, Smithfield. The margins are covered with illustrations of fables, &c., added by an English hand to a MS. written for French use, early in the fourteenth century. The game here represented seems to be a variety of club-ball, though what the players hold are not exactly clubs.

TOLL-HOUSE, GREAT YARMOUTH (*Journal of Archæological Association*) . 335
This building, of which the greater part dates from the thirteenth century, was called the Toll-house, from the great chamber on the first floor where the bailiffs received their tolls. It "was also called the Host-house, because in the great chamber the hosts, to whom foreign fishermen entrusted the sale of their herrings, were accustomed to assemble and pay their "heighning money," being the difference between the "tide price" fixed by the Corporation when the fish was first landed and the selling price; which difference the Corporation claimed as part of the town revenue. Hence the above apartment was also called the *Heighning Chamber*. Beneath the main building is an underground room, 20 feet long, 12 wide, and 16 high, called "the hold," originally used as a dungeon into which all prisoners were thrust without distinction. It had a huge beam placed along the centre, with iron rings at intervals, to which prisoners were chained" (Palmer, "Perlustration of Great Yarmouth," ii. 241); a "gaol for prisoners and malefactors" having been granted to the town by Henry III. in 1261. This prison was in use till the beginning of the present century. The great chamber also served for the weekly Borough Court (held ever since John's time) and for the trial of prisoners before the bailiffs. Since 1622 it has also been used instead of the old Guildhall for the meetings of the Corporation, and for the Assizes.

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TOWN-WALL AND TOWER, KING'S LYNN 336

From an engraving, in William Taylor's "Antiquities of King's Lynn," of a drawing made just before the wall was taken down. From the close resemblance of the arches to some still remaining at Castle Rising, and known to be of the early thirteenth century, it is believed that the Lynn walls were of about the same date. They were possibly built by Savaric de Mauléon, to whom John intrusted the fortification of Lynn in 1216.

SEAL OF ROCHESTER, C. 1300 (*Society of Antiquaries*) 337

Obverse, S. Andrew, patron saint of the cathedral and town; reverse, a very good representation of Rochester Castle.

OLD BRISTOL BRIDGE 338

Built in 1247; taken down 1762-3, when there were found, inside one of the piers, remnants of timber construction which had evidently formed part of a still older wooden bridge, round which the new piers were built. The bridge appeared to have been originally designed to have houses on it, though none of those actually remaining could be traced further back than Edward IV. The view here reproduced from Seyer's "Memorials of Bristol" was taken from a drawing made shortly before the demolition.

SEAL OF DOVER, 1305 (*Society of Antiquaries*) 339

Obverse, S. Martin, the patron saint of the town, cutting his cloak in halves to share it with a beggar; reverse, a ship, the usual emblem of a sea-port.

SCEPTRE OF THE LORD MAYOR OF LONDON (*Jewitt and Hope, "Corporation Plate"*) 340

Every year, when a new Lord Mayor of London is elected, this sceptre is formally handed to him by the City Chamberlain, who is its custodian. Except for this annual ceremony, it is only used on great occasions of state, such as a coronation, when it is carried by the Lord Mayor. It is 1 foot 6 inches long, made of crystal mounted in gold. The gold head, in the form of a coronet composed of alternate crosses and fleurs-de-lis rising from a fillet set with large pearls, rubies and sapphires, dates from the fifteenth century, as is shown by the royal arms (France modern and England quarterly) on the flat top; while the large glass knot in the middle of the shaft was inserted about fifty years ago in the place of an earlier one. But the shaft and base are of far older date. They are of crystal, cut into spiral grooves, along each of which runs a thread of gold wire, and adorned with bands of gold, each encircled by a ring of pearls. These pearls are set in a manner peculiar to Byzantine work, being strung on gold wire. It is therefore quite possible that this shaft dates from before the Norman conquest of England, and has been in continuous use not only from the very beginning of the London mayoralty, but even from the days of the Portreeves, down to the present time.

MOOT HORN OF THE CORPORATION OF FAVERSHAM (*from a photograph*) . . . 341

This horn served for the calling of local assemblies. It is one of the oldest existing moot-horns, and dates from the early fourteenth century.

S. ETHELBERT'S GATE, NORWICH (*from a photograph*) 343

This is one of two gates leading from the town into the Cathedral precincts or Close. The citizens of Norwich and the monks of the Cathedral monastery were constantly at strife as to disputed jurisdiction, tolls, market-rights, and so forth, and in 1272 there was a furious fight, in which the monastery was burnt, the church plundered, and the monks were all slaughtered or put to flight. The prior gathered troops at Yarmouth and retaliated upon the town; for more than two years the strife went on; at last King Edward enforced a pacification, gave the monks leave to make new gates to their Close and to keep them closed at their pleasure, and ordered the citizens to pay 500 marks yearly for six years towards the cost of the new building. S. Ethelbert's Gate was built accordingly in 1275. It took its name from a neighbouring church, which had also been burnt in 1272. Over the gate was a chapel, with a window on the east side; the side here figured is the western, facing the town, and this had originally four small windows, now blocked up, which served as loopholes to shoot from in case of attack. The lower part of the gateway is of stone, the upper part of faced and squared flint, with stone tracery let in; this has been restored, but exactly after the old pattern.

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ELEANOR OF CASTILE (*Stothard*, "*Monumental Effigies*") 346
From her tomb in Westminster Abbey.

TWO KNIGHTS TILTING, AND HERALDS BLOWING TRUMPETS (*MS. Roy.* 10 *E. iv.*). 348

A ROYAL BANQUET, A.D. 1338-44 348
From MS. Bodleian Misc. 264, the Romance of Alexander, illuminated A.D. 1338-44 by Jehan de Grise, a French artist, probably working in England.

SIR GEOFFREY LOUTRELL, HIS WIFE AND DAUGHTER-IN-LAW 349
Sir Geoffrey Loutrell, of Irnham, Lincolnshire, was born 1276, and died 1345. His wife, Agnes de Sutton, holds his jousting-helmet and his banner; the lady who holds his shield is either Beatrice Scrope, wife of their eldest son Andrew, or her sister Constance, wife of the second son, Geoffrey. Both these couples were married as children in 1319; the date of the illumination therefore must lie between that year and the death of Agnes, in 1340. The MS. is a Psalter, written for Sir Geoffrey, as the inscription above this picture shows. From the Loutrells it passed to Lord William Howard, Warden of the Western Marches under Elizabeth, and bears his autograph. It finally went to the Weld family, of Lulworth Castle, Dorset. The illustrations from it given here are copied from the reproductions in "Vetusta Monumenta."

EDINBURGH CASTLE, FROM THE SOUTH 352
From Slezer's "Theatrum Scotiæ," a survey of the castles of Scotland made by a Dutch officer under William and Mary, 1693. The present castle, begun by Edward III. in 1344, became a royal residence of the Stuarts, who added to it greatly throughout the fourteenth, fifteenth, and early sixteenth centuries. The earlier castle had been demolished by Bruce, all but S. Margaret's Chapel (see p. 357).

MAP OF SCOTLAND IN 1290 . . . . . *To face p.* 351

CHESSMEN, SCANDINAVIAN, FOUND IN THE ISLE OF LEWIS 354
These specimens belong to the remains of six or more different sets of chessmen, which are now in the British Museum. They are Scandinavian work of the twelfth or thirteenth century, beautifully carved in walrus-tusk, and some of them stained red. They illustrate the costume of northern kings, queens, bishops, and warriors of the time.

S. LUKE, FROM S. MARGARET'S GOSPEL-BOOK 356
This book, now in the Bodleian Library, belonged to S. Margaret, Queen of Scotland, and was probably used by her at the services in the abbey-church which she founded at Dunfermline. The illuminations of the four Evangelists, one of which is here reproduced, are English work of the eleventh century, of a Byzantine type.

S. MARGARET'S CHAPEL, EDINBURGH CASTLE 357
Built by Margaret for her private chapel; here engraved from a photograph.

WEST DOOR OF ABERBROTHOCK ABBEY CHURCH 358
This abbey (near S. Andrews) was founded by William the Lion, King of Scots, in honour of S. Thomas of Canterbury. Its monks were of the order of Tiron. This doorway must be one of the earliest portions of the building, which was begun in 1178 and finished in 1233.

NEW, OR SWEETHEART ABBEY, KIRCUDBRIGHTSHIRE 360
A Cistercian house, founded in 1275 by Dervorgilla of Galloway, John Balliol's mother, from whom he derived his claim to the Scottish crown. Dervorgilla's husband, another John Balliol, had died in 1269, and she had caused his heart to be embalmed and placed in an ivory casket, which she carried about with her always, and ordered to be laid upon her own heart when she was buried (1290) in this church, thence called Sweetheart Abbey.

CAERLAVEROCK CASTLE (*after J. M. W. Turner*) 362
Caerlaverock is in Dumfriesshire; it stands on a peninsula in the Solway. It was rebuilt about 1400, but on the plan of the older castle as described in the contemporary poem on the Siege of Caerlaverock, 1300.

THE CORONATION-CHAIR, WESTMINSTER ABBEY (*from a photograph*) . . . 364

STIRLING (*after J. M. W. Turner*) 365

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SCOTTISH FOOT-SOLDIER, *temp.* EDWARD I. 366
From Chapter-house Liber A, Public Record Office.

FELLING A TREE (*MS. Colt. Nero D. i.*) 369
Probably drawn by Matthew Paris.

WINDMILL, A.D. 1338-44 (*MS. Bodl. Misc.* 264) 370

TRIAL BY BATTLE 372
From a fragment of an Assize Roll, undated, but belonging to the reign of Henry III., and preserved in the Public Record Office. The sketch represents a judicial combat between Walter Bloweberme and Hamo le State. Walter was an approver; *i.e.* a criminal who had confessed his crime, and been pardoned on condition of denouncing his accomplices and vanquishing them in combat. He denounced, amongst others, Hamo le State as having been concerned with him in a robbery at Winchester. Hamo denied the charge; a judicial combat took place; Hamo was defeated, and hanged accordingly.

SEAL OF EXETER, C. 1170 (*Society of Antiquaries*) 374
Interesting from its representation of the Guildhall.

HALL OF S. MARY'S GILD, LINCOLN (*from a photograph*) 375
This hall stands in the lower town of Lincoln, and is now vulgarly called John of Gaunt's Stables. The history of the gild to which it belonged is obscure, and there is no documentary evidence of it before 1250; the building however is undoubtedly of the twelfth century.

SEAL OF GILD MERCHANT, GLOUCESTER, C. 1200 376
The device on this seal is a conventional representation of one of the city gates. The engraving is lent by Mr. W. H. St. John Hope.

BAKERS, A.D. 1293 377
From the Assisa Panis, xxi. Ed. I—xvi. Hen. VI., a folio volume belonging to the Corporation of London, written on parchment, and containing entries relating to the Assize of Bread by the civic authorities from 1293 to 1438. The sketch here reproduced shews a baker standing at his oven-door, and a fraudulent baker being drawn to the pillory with a short-weight loaf hung round his neck. The bakers were among the very first craftsmen to form themselves into gilds.

BAKERS AND COOKS, A.D. 1338-44 (*MS. Bodl. Misc.* 264) 378
The cooks were a separate craft, almost as important as the bakers. In this picture the first group are making bread, the second roasting fowls.

COOKING OUTSIDE A TAVERN, A.D. 1388-44 (*MS. Bodl. Misc.* 264) . . . 378
To illustrate the hostellers' craft.

VINTNERS, A.D. 1338-44 (*MS. Bodl. Misc.* 264) 379
Treading grapes and filling wine-barrels; an illustration of the vintners' craft.

IRON-WORKERS, A.D. 1338-44 (*MS. Bodl. Misc.* 264) 379
This forge is exactly like those now used by the nail and chain-makers in the Black Country, whose work is still carried on under the rude conditions of primitive industry. The fire, under a stone canopy, is kept alive by bellows attached to a pulley fixed at the back of the chimney, and a boy mounted on the wooden framework of the pulley works the bellows with his foot. The "lorimers," iron and coppersmiths, were very early associated in a craft gild.

ARMOURERS, 1338-44 (*MS. Bodl. Misc.* 264) 380
An illustration of one of the most important crafts of the Middle Ages. Three of the workmen seem to be making various pieces of armour; sundry tools lie on the table, and there is a curious double bellows.

WEIGHING AND LADING, A.D. 1338-44 (*MS. Bodl. Misc.* 264) 380
In the trading towns, especially in the sea-ports, the Porters and Measurers were employed by the community, and ropes supplied to them from the town-funds.

WINDLASS, EARLY FOURTEENTH CENTURY (*MS. Roy.* 10 *E. iv.*) 381

MONEY-BOX OF THE CORDWAINERS OF OXFORD (*Archæological Journal*) . . . 382
A box, nine inches in height, of wood, seemingly elm, with five iron hoops, two locks, and a chain. Its date is unknown; it seems to have been disused in 1587. The Cordwainers' Gild began under Henry I.

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ENTRANCE TO CHOIR OF OLD S. PAUL'S, LONDON . . . . . } 384
CHURCH OF S. FAITH UNDER S. PAUL'S . . . . . }

From engravings by W. Hollar, 1657. St. Paul's Cathedral was rebuilt 1087–1128, and restored after a fire in 1136; the eastern limb and the tower were again rebuilt 1220—1240; in 1255—1283 the fabric was lengthened eastward; a wooden spire crowned it in 1314. The round-arched work in the transept walls belongs to the first or second of these periods of building, the choir to the third, and the screen to the last. An old church of S. Faith, which stood at the east end of S. Paul's, was demolished in 1256 to make room for lengthening the choir of the cathedral; the crypt under the new buildings was made to serve as a parish church in its stead.

WEST FRONT OF OLD S. PAUL'S 385

A sketch in MS. Lambeth 1106, early fourteenth century.

OPENING OF THE TOMB OF EDWARD THE CONFESSOR 386

This scene, from MS. Camb. Univ. Libr. Ee. iii. 59, which shews the shrine as it was in 1245, represents the opening of Edward's tomb in 1102 by Abbot Gilbert of Westminster and Bishop Gundulf of Rochester, to see whether the story of the incorruption of the body was true. The king is meant for Henry I., but is probably another likeness of Henry III.

VENICE (*frontispiece to MS. Bodl. Misc.* 264, part iii.) 387

The official account in the Bodleian attributes this French History of Marco Polo's travels to an English scribe and a French artist, late in the fourteenth century. According to the high authority of Mr. R. Holmes, Librarian at Windsor Castle, MS. and illuminations are English work of the fifteenth century.

IRON SCREEN ON TOMB OF ELEANOR OF CASTILE IN WESTMINSTER ABBEY 387

From a photograph. This screen was wrought by an Englishman, Master Thomas of Leighton, in 1293. The price paid to him for it was twelve pounds, paid in three instalments.

BRIDGE OVER THE ESK AT DANBY, CLEVELAND 388

Built late in the fourteenth century by Neville, Lord Latimer, whose arms are carved on it. Now known as the Duck Bridge, from having been repaired in the last century by a man named Duck.

CARTS, A.D. 1338—44 (*MS. Bodl. Misc.* 264) 390, 391

SATIRE ON THE JEWS OF NORWICH, TEMP. HENRY III. 392

The clerk who engrossed the Jews' Roll 17 Henry III. (Public Record Office) has enlivened its margin with this sketch. Isaac of Norwich, a famous Jew of the time, is represented with a crown to symbolize his importance, and with three faces, to indicate the more than double-dealing with which his race were credited; a head with three faces was indeed the symbol employed to represent a usurer on the labels of the chests in the Exchequer. The chief of a group of demons bears the name of Dagon; a little imp with a forked tongue seems to be instigating a Jew to use a false balance; another demon is mocking at a Jew nicknamed Nolle-mokke, and at a Jewess called Avegay, whose figure is interesting as showing the dress of the Jewish women.

CHURCH IN LONDON FOR CONVERTED JEWS, A.D. 1233 392

A drawing by Matthew Paris, in his autograph Historia Anglorum, MS. Roy. 14 C. vii. (British Museum). In 1233 Henry built in London a home for converted Jews. They were to be maintained partly by the foundation, partly by their own labour, but without servile work; they lived by rule, and had a chaplain or master to direct them. This mastership was annexed to the office of Keeper of the Rolls in 1377, and the church of the "Domus Conversorum" was represented by the Rolls Chapel till its demolition in 1897.

AARON OF COLCHESTER 393

A caricature of a Jew of Colchester—"Aaron filius Diaboli"—from the Forest Roll, Essex, 5 Ed. I. (Public Record Office).

MUSICIANS AND AUDIENCE, A.D. 1338—44 . . . . . 39(

This and the five following illustrations of music in the fourteenth century are from MS. Bodl. Misc. 264. The portative was a wind instrument with keyboard and bellows.

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VIOL AND HARP, A.D. 1338—44 396

HORN-PLAYER, A.D. 1338—44 . . . . . } 397
CITTERN-PLAYER, A.D. 1338—44 . . . . . }

DRUMMER, A.D. 1338—44 397

BAGPIPER, A.D. 1338—44 398

DAVID PLAYING ON BELLS (*MS. Roy. 2 B. vii.*) 398

MORRIS-DANCE, A.D. 1338—44 (*MS. Bodl. Misc.* 264) 399

CHILDREN CATCHING BUTTERFLIES WITH THEIR HOODS, A.D. 1338—44 (*MS. Bodl. Misc.* 264) 399

LADY AND YOUTH PLAYING DRAUGHTS, EARLY FOURTEENTH CENTURY (*MS. Roy. 2 B. vii.*) 400

BED AND CRADLE, EARLY FOURTEENTH CENTURY (*MS. Roy. 2 B. vii*) 402

CARVED CHEST IN CHEVINGTON CHURCH, SUFFOLK (*Gage*, "*History of Suffolk*") 403
Dates from the time of Edward II. or Edward III.

SEAL OF ROBERT BRUCE, KING OF SCOTS 405
From an impression, in the British Museum, of Robert's second Great Seal.

STIRLING CASTLE 407
From Slezer's "Theatrum Scotiæ," 1693. The castle has been almost entirely rebuilt since Bruce's time, but the walls are on the old lines. Under the Stuarts it became a royal residence, and the interior buildings, palace, Parliament-House, &c., date from James III., IV., and V.

SIEGE OF CARLISLE BY THE SCOTS, 1315 (*Archæological Journal*) 409
A facsimile of the initial letter of a charter granted to Carlisle by Edward II. in 1316.

WEST DOOR OF ELGIN CATHEDRAL 411
This church, burnt down in 1270, was rebuilt early in the fourteenth century. It is by far the grandest and the most beautifully decorated of all the Scottish Cathedrals. Such a church, built in the very midst of the War of Independence, in a remote town, beyond the Grampians and 200 miles from the English border, is a speaking witness to the growth of a national civilization unaffected by English influence.

BERWICK-UPON-TWEED (*after J. M. W. Turner*) 413

CORONATION OF A KING . . . . . *To face p.* 414
A facsimile, greatly reduced, of an illumination in MS. Corpus Christi College Cambridge xx. It is English work of the early fourteenth century, and may represent either Edward II. or Edward III.

SCHOOL, A.D. 1338—44 (*MS. Bodl. Misc.* 264) 415

CHAPEL ON WAKEFIELD BRIDGE (*Archæological Journal*) 416
The chapels so often built on bridges seem to have served as resting-places for travellers as well as for purposes of devotion. That at Wakefield, one of the few still remaining, was built shortly before A.D. 1358, when Edward III. granted ten pounds a year for two chantry priests serving "the chapel of S. Mary, newly built on Wakefield Bridge." The bridge has been widened and the chapel restored, but without altering its architectural character.

WINCHESTER MARKET CROSS 417
Built under Edward III.

CONSTANTINOPLE (*Loutrell Psalter*) 418
Illustrates an English artist's idea of Constantinople c. 1340, and also a group dancing to tabor and pipe.

GEOFFREY CHAUCER 419
Painted shortly after Chaucer's death, by his friend and disciple Occleve, in the margin of his book "De Regimine Principum" (MS. Harleian 4866, British Museum).

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THE CANTERBURY PILGRIMS 420, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429

From the Ellesmere MS. of the "Canterbury Tales," early fourteenth century; here reproduced from Dr. Furnivall's edition, published by the Chaucer Society.

DRINKING-HORN AT QUEEN'S COLLEGE, OXFORD (*Skelton, "Oxonia antiqua restaura'a"*) 432

This horn was given to Queen's College by its foundress, Philippa of Hainault, wife of Edward III. It holds two quarts, and is a real horn, semi-transparent like tortoise-shell, ornamented with gold; the eagle on the lid is hollow.

SPINNING AND BLOWING FIRE, EARLY FOURTEENTH CENTURY (*MS. Roy. 10 E. iv.*) 433

Here the woman uses a spinning-wheel, instead of the older distaff.

BOAT WITH RUDDER, 1338 44 (*MS. Bodl. Misc.* 264) 433

An early example of a real rudder such as is now used, instead of the primitive contrivance figured in pp. 11, 115, 116, 127, 145, 147.

GOLD NOBLE OF EDWARD III. 434

A new coin, struck in 1344; the ship commemorates the victory at Sluys in 1340.

MEETING OF EDWARD III. AND PHILIP OF FRANCE, 1331 435

From MS. Roy. 20 C. vii. (British Museum), a French "Chronique de St. Denys," late fourteenth century.

SHOOTING AT BUTTS, c. 1340 (*Loutrell Psalter*) 438

SEA-FIGHT, EARLY FOURTEENTH CENTURY (*MS. Roy. 10 E. iv.*) 441

From a comment made in the Debate between the Heralds of England and France, 1458–61, it appears that the English victories at sea were gained in spite of great disadvantages involved in the English mode of naval warfare; for while the English ships, according to the French herald, were only armed with archers using the long-bow, who fought on the upper deck, where they were exposed to great danger from the enemy, the French cross-bowmen could shoot under cover from the forecastle or stern-castle of their ships.

TILTING ON THE WATER, EARLY FOURTEENTH CENTURY (*MS. Roy. 2 B. vii.*) 441

ENGLISH SOLDIERS SCALING A FORTRESS IN GASCONY (*MS. Roy. 14 D. iv.*) . 442

This picture, from a copy of Froissart's "Chronicle," made in Flanders in the fifteenth century, illustrates the medieval practice of depicting scenes from the past in the costume of the present. The soldiers represent those of Edward III., but their accoutrement is that of the artist's own time; their salade helmets and articulated breast and back-plates belong to the fifteenth century, and are quite different from the armour of the Black Prince.

MAP OF FRANCE AT TREATY OF BRETIGNY . . . . . *To face p.* 444

THE HOUSE OF LORDS UNDER EDWARD I. 445

From an engraving in Pinkerton's "Iconographia Scotica" of a drawing formerly in the College of Arms, London. This drawing dates from the reign of Edward IV., and represents the House of Peers as it was then supposed to have sat in 1277, the only year of Edward I.'s reign when it was attended both by the King of Scots and by the Prince of Wales. The Archbishop of Canterbury sits on the right of Alexander of Scotland, the Archbishop of York on the left of Llewelyn of Wales; the clerk behind Alexander holds the deed of homage for the Scot king's English lands; the two clerks behind Llewelyn are probably papal envoys. The outer row of mitred figures on the left are nineteen mitred abbots; the inner row, and two figures just below the Archbishop of York, are eight bishops. Twenty lay peers sit on the right; the chancellor and judges on the woolsack in the middle. The meaning of the crowned figure just below Llewelyn is unknown.

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BRASS OF SIR JOHN HARSYCK AND KATHERINE, HIS WIFE, A.D. 1384 (*Boutell, "Monumental Brasses"*) 446

In Southacre Church, Norfolk. Shows the armour of a knight and the dress of a lady of the time.

BRASS OF ROBERT ATTELATHE, MAYOR OF LYNN 447

This figure is given to show the burgher in his robes of office. Robert Attelathe was Mayor of Lynn in 1374, and died in 1376. The brass on his tomb, formerly in S. Margaret's Church, Lynn, is here copied from W. Taylor's "Antiquities of Lynn."

CROZIER OF WILLIAM OF WYKEHAM (*from a photograph*) 449

Bequeathed by him to New College, Oxford (which he founded), and now in the chapel.

EFFIGY OF WILLIAM OF WYKEHAM, ON HIS TOMB (*Britton, "Winchester Cathedral"*) 450

JOHN WYCLIF (*portrait at Knole*) 453

POPE AND CARDINALS (*MS. Add.* 23923, *British Museum*) 454

This illumination is of Italian workmanship; it forms the headpiece to a copy of the Decretals of Boniface VIII., who died in 1303. The Pope, however, is represented wearing the triple tiara, which was not yet in use in Boniface's time, and the MS. dates from about 1380.

RIDING TO A TOURNAMENT . . . . . }
A TOURNAMENT . . . . . } 457

These two scenes are from MS. Roy. 19 C. i. (British Museum) "Li Breviari d'Amors," written in the South of France in the fourteenth century. The first illustrates the description in the text, of the ladies in male apparel riding to the place of tourney; the second pictures the tournament itself; and the artist has added a significant comment in the figures of the demons blowing their trumpets to greet the ladies, and directing the blows of the knights.

TOMB OF ARCHBISHOP PECKHAM (*Britton, "Canterbury Cathedral"*) 458

A fine example of English art, A.D. 1313.

HALL OF MAYFIELD PALACE, SUSSEX 459

Mayfield was a manor-house of the Archbishops of Canterbury, and the great hall was built by Archbishop Islip, c. 1350. It is here figured from a drawing made in 1783 by S. H. Grimm (MS. Add. Burrell 5671, British Museum); since then it has been restored and is now a Roman Catholic church. The back of the Archbishop's chair, of stone carved with a diaper pattern, still remains against the eastern wall.

GATEWAY OF THORNTON ABBEY, LINCOLNSHIRE 462

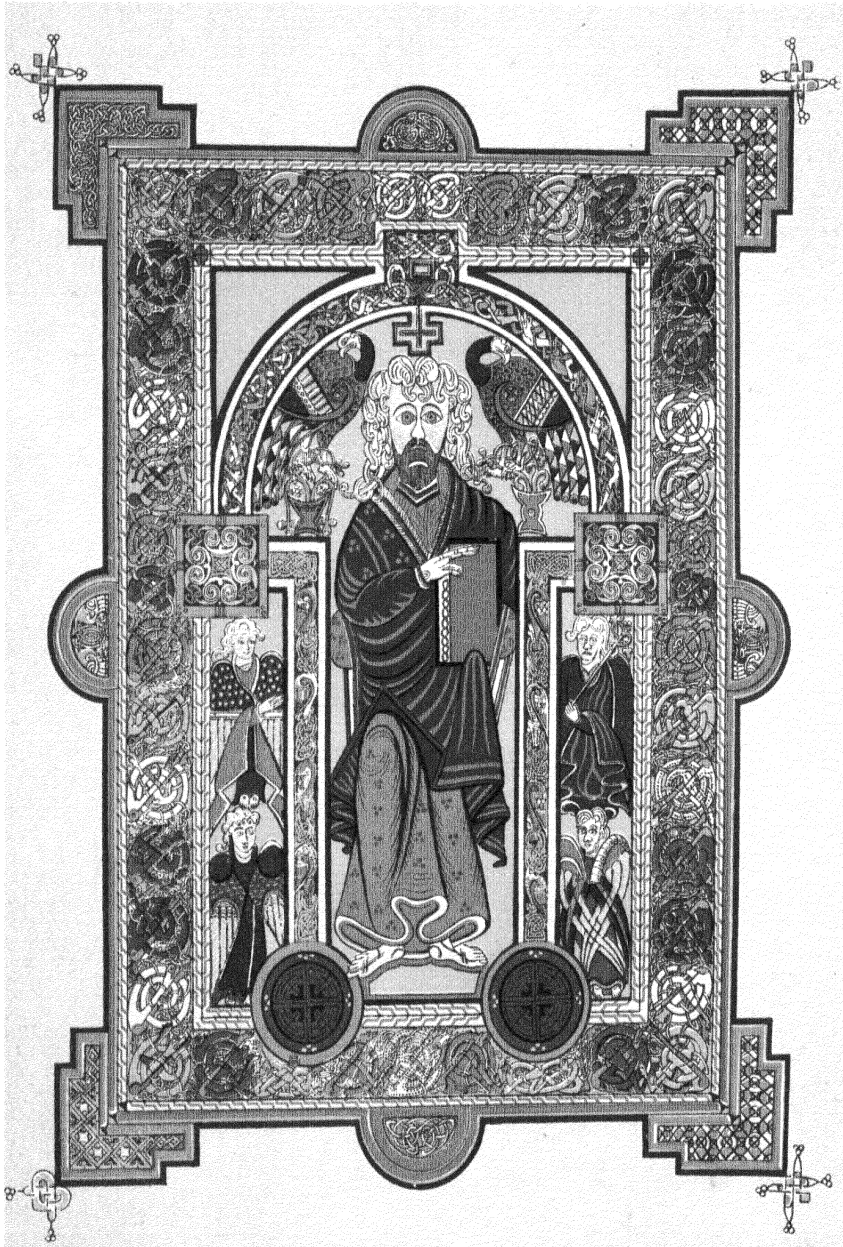
An early example of a brick building with stone dressings; built soon after 1382.

PREACHING IN THE OPEN AIR, 1338—44 (*MS. Bodl. Misc.* 264) 464

From pulpits such as this Wyclif's "poor preachers" must have addressed such groups as the one depicted here.

NEW COLLEGE, OXFORD, AND ITS HUNDRED CLERKS 467

From MS. New College, Oxford, cclxxviii., a panegyric on William of Wykeham by Thomas Chandler, Warden of Winchester College 1450—3, of New College 1453—4, and Canon and Chancellor of Wells 1454—1481; presented by him to Thomas Bekynton, Bishop of Wells 1443—1465, who bequeathed it to New College, of which he too had been a member. The picture represents the College and a hundred of its most distinguished scholars, among whom are William of Wykeham, Archbishops Chichele and Waynflete of Canterbury and Cranley of Dublin, Bekynton, and Chandler himself.



S. MATTHEW

From the Book of Kells, A.D. 650-690

A SHORT HISTORY

OF

THE ENGLISH PEOPLE

CHAPTER I

THE ENGLISH KINGDOMS, 607—1013

Section I.—Britain and the English

[*Authorities.*—For the constitution and settlement of the English, see Kemble's "Saxons in England" and especially the "Constitutional History of England" by Dr. Stubbs. Sir Francis Palgrave's History of the English Commonwealth is valuable, but to be used with care. A vigorous and accurate sketch of the early constitution may be found in Mr. Freeman's History of the Norman Conquest, vol. i. See also "The Making of England" and "The Conquest of England" by J. R. Green.]

Old England

FOR the fatherland of the English race we must look far away from England itself. In the fifth century after the birth of Christ, the one country which we know to have borne the name of Angeln or the Engleland lay in the district which we now call Sleswick, a district in the heart of the peninsula which parts the Baltic from the northern seas. Its pleasant pastures, its black-timbered homesteads, its prim little townships looking down on inlets of purple water, were then but a wild waste of heather and sand, girt along the coast with sunless woodland, broken here and there by meadows which crept down to the marshes and the sea. The dwellers in this district, however, seem to have been merely an outlying fragment of what was called the Engle or English

SEC. I
BRITAIN AND THE ENGLISH

its families together; every outrage was held to have been done by all who were linked by blood to the doer of it, every crime to have been done against all who were linked by blood to the sufferer from it. From this sense of the value of the family bond, as a means of restraining the wrong-doer by forces which the tribe as a whole did not as yet possess, sprang the first rude forms of English justice. Each kinsman was his kinsman's keeper, bound to protect him from wrong, to hinder him from wrong-doing, and to suffer with and pay for him, if wrong were done. So fully was this principle recognized that, even if any man was charged before his fellow-tribesmen with crime, his kinsfolk still remained in fact his sole judges; for it was by their solemn oath of his innocence or his guilt that he had to stand or fall.



PART OF A HELMET, IRON OVERLAID WITH BRONZE, REPRESENTING A NORTHERN WARRIOR.
Montelius, "Civilization of Sweden."

The English Society

The blood-bond gave both its military and social form to Old English society. Kinsmen fought side by side in the hour of battle, and the feelings of honour and discipline which held the host together were drawn from the common duty of every man in each little group of warriors to his house. And as they fought side by side on the field, so they dwelled side by side on the soil. Harling abode by Harling, and Billing by Billing; and each "wick" or "ham" or "stead" or "tun" took its name from the kinsmen who dwelt together in it. The home or "ham" of the Billings would be Billingham, and the "tun" or township of the Harlings would be Harlington. But in such settlements, the tie of blood was widened into the larger tie of land. Land with the German race seems at a very early time to have become the accompaniment of full freedom. The freeman was strictly the freeholder, and the exercise of his full rights as a free member of the community to which he belonged was inseparable from the possession of his

SEC. I

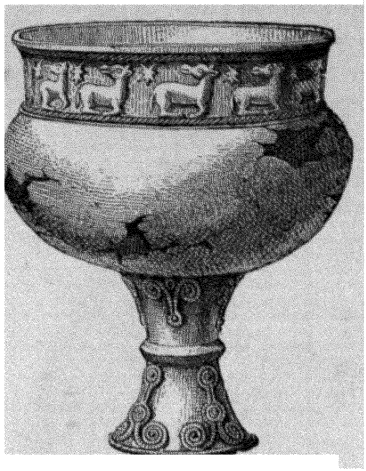
BRITAIN BEFORE THE ENGLISH

and was held to be the special dwelling-place of the nixie and the will-o'-the-wisp. If a stranger came through this wood, or over the waste, custom bade him blow his horn as he came, for if he stole through secretly he was taken for a foe, and any man might lawfully slay him. Inside this boundary the "township," as the village was then called from the "tun" or rough fence and trench that served as its simple fortification, formed a ready-made fortress in war, while in peace its entrenchments were serviceable in the feuds of village with village, or house with house. Within the village we find from the first a marked social difference between two orders of its inhabitants. The bulk of its homesteads were those of its freemen or "ceorls," but amongst these were the larger homes of "eorls," or men distinguished among their fellows by noble blood, who were held in an hereditary reverence, and from whom the leaders of the village were chosen in war time, or rulers in time of peace. But the choice was a purely voluntary one, and the man of noble blood enjoyed no legal privilege among his fellows. The holdings of the freemen clustered round a moot-hill or sacred tree where the community met from time to time to order its own industry and to frame its own laws. Here plough-land and meadow-land were shared in due lot among the villagers, and field and homestead passed from man to man. Here strife of farmer with farmer was

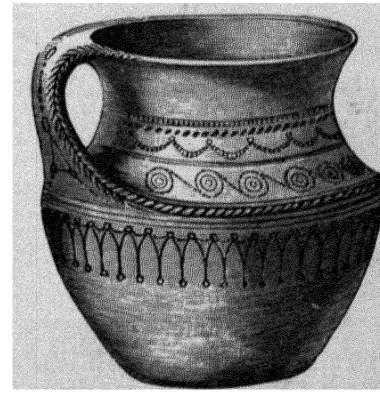


HORNS, FIFTH CENTURY, FOUND AT GALLEHUS, NORTH JUTLAND.
Worsaae, "Industrial Arts of Denmark"

"holding." The landless man ceased for all practical purposes to be free, though he was no man's slave. In the very earliest glimpse we get of the German race we see them a race of land-holders and land-tillers. Tacitus, the first Roman who sought to know these destined conquerors of Rome, describes them as pasturing on the forest glades around their villages, and ploughing their village fields. A feature which at once struck him as parting them from the civilized world to which he himself belonged, was their hatred of cities, and their love even within their little settlements of a jealous independence. "They live apart," he says, "each by himself, as woodside, plain, or fresh spring attracts him." And as each dweller within the settlement was jealous of his own isolation and independence among his fellow settlers, so each settlement was jealous of its independence among its fellow settlements. Of the character of their life in this early world, however, we know little save what may be gathered from the indications of a later time. Each little farmer commonwealth was girt in by its own border or "mark," a belt of forest or waste or fen which parted it from its fellow villages. Ring of common ground which none of its settlers might take for his own, but which sometimes served as a death-ground where criminals met their doom.



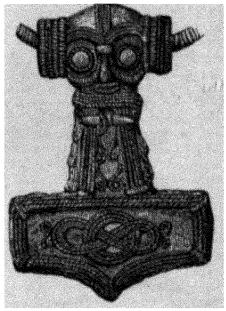
Montelius, ... of Sweden."



settled according to the "customs" of the township as its "elder men" stated them, and the wrong-doer was judged and his fine assessed by the kinsfolk; and here men were chosen to follow headman or ealdorman to hundred court or war. It is with a reverence such as is stirred by the sight of the head-waters of some mighty river that one looks back to these tiny moots, where the men of the village met to order the village life and the village industry, as their descendants, the men of a later England, meet in Parliament at Westminster, to frame laws and do justice for the great empire which has sprung from this little body of farmer-commonwealths in Sleswick.

The English Religion

The religion of the English was the same as that of the whole German family. Christianity, which had by this time brought about the conversion of the Roman Empire, had not penetrated as yet among the forests of the North. Our own names for the days of the week still recall to us the gods whom our fathers worshipped. Wednesday is the day of Woden, the war-god, the guardian of ways and boundaries, the inventor of letters, the common god of the whole conquering people, whom every tribe held to be the first ancestor of its kings. Thursday is the day of Thunder, or, as the Northmen called him, Thor, the god of air and storm and rain; as Friday is Frea's-day, the god of peace and joy and fruitfulness, whose emblems, borne aloft by dancing maidens, brought increase to every field and stall they visited. Saturday may commemorate an obscure god Saetere, Tuesday the dark god, Tiw, to meet whom was death. Behind these floated dim shapes of an older mythology; Eostre, the goddess of the dawn, or of the spring, who lends her name to the Christian festival of the Resurrection; "Wyrd," the death-goddess, whose memory lingered long in the "weird" of northern superstition; or the Shield-Maidens, the "mighty women" who, an old rime tells us, "wrought on the battle-field their toil, and hurled the thrilling javelins." Nearer to the popular fancy lay deities of wood and fell, or the hero-gods of legend and song; "Nicor," the water-sprite, who gave us our water-



HEAD OF THE *Stephens's Thunderer.*

SEC. I. BRITAIN AND THE ENGLISH

nixies and "Old Nick"; "Weland," the forger of mighty shields and sharp-biting swords, whose memory lingers in the stories of "Wayland's Smithy" in Berkshire; while the name of Ailesbury may preserve the last trace of the legend of Weland's brother, the sun-archer Ægil. But it is only in broken fragments that this mass of early faith and early poetry still lives for us, in a name, in the grey stones of a cairn, or in snatches of our older song; and



BRACTEATES REPRESENTING NORTHERN DIVINITIES.
Worsaae, "Industrial Arts of Denmark."

the faint traces of worship or of priesthood which we find in later history show how lightly it clung to the national life.

Britain

From Sleswick and the shores of the Northern Sea we must pass, before opening our story, to a land which, dear as it is now to Englishmen, had not as yet been trodden by English feet. The island of Britain had for nearly four hundred years been a province of the Empire. A descent of Julius Cæsar revealed it (B.C. 55) to the Roman world, but nearly a century elapsed before the Emperor Claudius attempted its definite conquest. The victories of Julius Agricola (A.D. 78—84) carried the Roman frontier to the Firths of Forth and of Clyde, and the work of Roman civilization followed hard upon the Roman sword. Population was grouped in cities such as York or Lincoln, cities governed by their own municipal officers, guarded by massive walls, and linked

together by a network of roads, which extended from one end of the island to the other. Commerce sprang up in ports like that of London; agriculture flourished till Britain was able at need to supply the necessities of Gaul; its mineral resources were explored in the tin mines of Cornwall, the lead mines of Somerset and Northumberland, and the iron mines of the Forest of Dean. The wealth of the island grew fast during centuries of unbroken peace, but the evils which were slowly sapping the strength of the Roman Empire at large must have told heavily on the real wealth of the province of Britain. Here, as in Italy or Gaul, the population probably declined as the estates of the landed proprietors grew larger, and the cultivators sank into serfs whose cabins clustered round the luxurious villas of their lords. The mines, if worked by forced labour, must have been a source of endless oppression. Town and country were alike crushed by heavy taxation, while industry was fettered by laws that turned every trade into an hereditary caste. Above all, the purely despotic system of the Roman Government, by crushing all local independence, crushed all local vigour. Men forgot how to fight for their country when they forgot how to govern it.

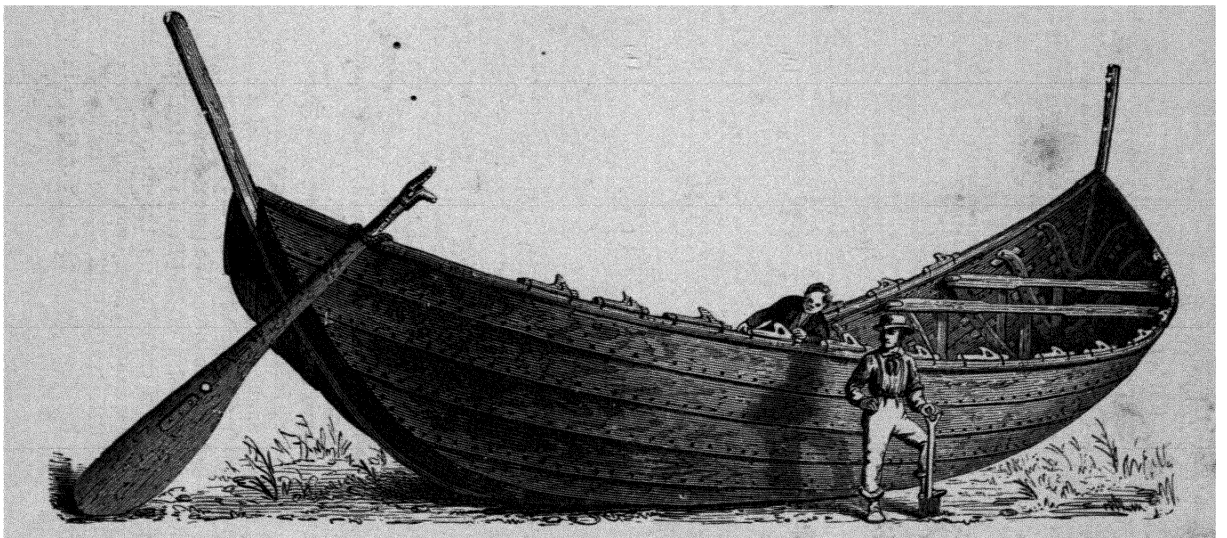
Such causes of decay were common to every province of the Empire; but there were others that sprang from the peculiar circumstances of Britain itself. The island was weakened by a disunion within, which arose from the partial character of its civilization. It was only in the towns that the conquered Britons became entirely Romanized. Over large tracts of country the rural Britons seem to have remained apart, speaking their own tongue, owning some traditional allegiance to their native chiefs, and even retaining their native laws. The use of the Roman language may be taken as marking the progress of Roman civilization, and though Latin had wholly superseded the language of the conquered peoples in Spain or Gaul, its use seems to have been confined in Britain to the townsfolk and the wealthier landowners without the towns. The dangers that sprang from such a severance between the two elements of the population must have been stirred into active life by the danger which threatened Britain from the North. The Picts who had been sheltered from Roman conquest by the fastnesses of the Highlands were roused in their

SEC. I
BRITAIN AND THE ENGLISH

turn to attack by the weakness of the province and the hope of plunder. Their invasions penetrated to the heart of the island. Raids so extensive could hardly have been effected without help from within, and the dim history of the time allows us to see not merely an increase of disunion between the Romanized and un-Romanized population of Britain, but even an alliance between the last and their free kinsfolk, the Picts. The struggles of Britain, however, lingered on till dangers nearer home forced the Empire to recall its legions and leave the province to itself. Ever since the birth of Christ the countries which lay round the Mediterranean Sea, and which then comprehended the whole of the civilized world, had rested in peace beneath the rule of Rome. During four hundred years its frontier had held at bay the barbarian world without—the Parthian of the Euphrates, the Numidian of the African desert, the German of the Danube or the Rhine. It was this mass of savage barbarism that at last broke in on the Empire as it sank into decay. In the western dominions of Rome the triumph of the invaders was complete. The Franks conquered and colonized Gaul. The West-Goths conquered and colonized Spain. The Vandals founded a kingdom in Africa. The Burgundians encamped in the border-land between Italy and the Rhone. The East-Goths ruled at last in Italy itself. And now that the fated hour was come, the Saxon and the Engle too closed upon their prey.

Britain and the English

It was to defend Italy against the Goths that Rome in 410 recalled her legions from Britain. The province, thus left unaided, seems to have fought bravely against its assailants, and once at least to have driven back the Picts to their mountains in a rising of despair. But the threat of fresh inroads found Britain torn with civil quarrels which made a united resistance impossible, while its Pictish enemies strengthened themselves by a league with marauders from Ireland (Scots as they were then called), whose pirate-boats were harrying the western coast of the island, and with a yet more formidable race of pirates who had long been pillaging along the British Channel. These were the English. We do not know whether it was the pressure of other tribes or the example of their German brethren who were now moving in a general attack on the Empire from their forest homes, or simply the barrenness of their coast, which drove the hunters, farmers,



BOAT FOR FOURTEEN PAIRS OF OARS, FOUND AT NYDAM, JUTLAND.
Montelius "Civilization of Sweden."

Sec. 1 Britain and the English

fishermen, of the English tribes to sea. But the daring spirit of their race already broke out in the secresy and suddenness of their swoop, in the fierceness of their onset, in the careless glee with which they seized either sword or oar. "Foes are they," sang a Roman poet of the time, "fierce beyond other foes, and cunning as they are fierce; the sea is their school of war, and the storm their friend; they are sea-wolves that live on the pillage of the world." To meet the league of Pict, Scot, and Saxon by the forces of the province itself became impossible; and the one course left was to imitate the fatal policy by which the Empire had invited its own doom while striving to avert it, the policy of matching barbarian against barbarian. The rulers of Britain resolved to break the league by detaching from it the freebooters who were harrying her eastern coast, and to use their new allies against the Pict. By the usual promises of land and pay, a band of warriors from Jutland were drawn for this purpose in 449 to the shores of Britain, with their chiefs, Hengest and Horsa, at their head.

Section II.—The English Conquest. 449—577

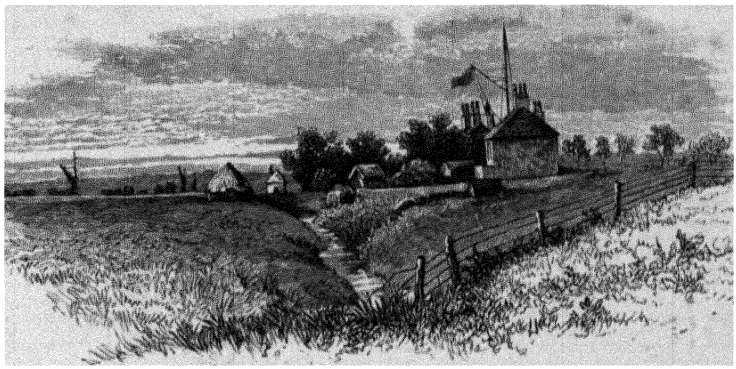
[*Authorities for the Conquest of Britain.*—The only extant British account is that of the monk *Gildas*, diffuse and inflated, but valuable as the one authority for the state of the island at the time, and as giving, in the conclusion of his work, the native story of the conquest of Kent. I have examined his general character, and the objections to his authenticity, &c., in two papers in the *Saturday Review* for April 24 and May 8, 1869. The Conquest of Kent is the only one of which we have any record from the side of the conquered. The English conquerors have left brief jottings of the conquest of Kent, Sussex, and Wessex, in the curious annals which form the opening of the compilation now known as the "English Chronicle." They are undoubtedly historic, though with a slight mythical intermixture. We possess no materials for the history of the English in their invasion of Mid-Britain or Mercia, and a fragment of the annals of Northumbria embodied in the later compilation which bears the name of Nennius alone throws light upon their actions in the North. Dr. Guest's papers in the "Origines Celticæ" are the best modern narratives of the conquest.] (The story has since been told by Mr. Green in "The Making of England.")

The English in Thanet

It is with the landing of Hengest and his war-band at Ebbsfleet on the shores of the Isle of Thanet that English history begins. No spot in Britain can be so sacred to Englishmen as that which

first felt the tread of English feet. There is little indeed to catch the eye in Ebbsfleet itself, a mere lift of higher ground, with a few grey cottages dotted over it, cut off nowadays from the sea by a reclaimed meadow and a sea-wall. But taken as a whole, the scene has a wild beauty of its own. To the right the white curve of Ramsgate cliffs looks down on the crescent of Pegwell Bay, far away to the left, across grey marsh-levels, where smoke-wreaths mark the sites of Richborough and Sandwich, the coast-line bends dimly to the fresh rise of cliffs beyond Deal. Everything in the character of the ground confirms the national tradition which fixed here the first landing-place of our English fathers, for great

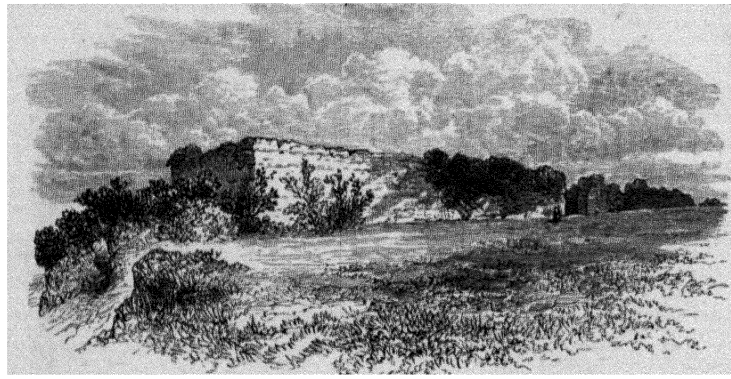
Sec. II. 449 to 577



as the physical changes of the country have been since the fifth century, they have told little on its main features. It is easy to discover in the misty level of the present Minster marsh what was once a broad inlet of sea parting Thanet from the mainland of Britain, through which the pirate-boats of the first Englishmen came sailing with a fair wind to the little gravel-spit of Ebbsfleet; and Richborough, a fortress whose broken ramparts still rise above the grey flats which have taken the place of this older sea-channel, was the common landing-place of travellers from Gaul. If the war-ships of the pirates therefore were cruising off the coast at the moment when the bargain with the Britons was concluded, their disembarkation at Ebbsfleet almost beneath the walls of

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Richborough would be natural enough. But the after-current of events serves to show that the choice of this landing-place was the result of a settled design. Between the Briton and his hireling soldiers there could be little trust. Quarters in Thanet would satisfy the followers of Hengest, who still lay in sight of their fellow-pirates in the Channel, and who felt themselves secured against the treachery which had so often proved fatal to the barbarian by the broad inlet which parted their camp from the mainland. Nor was the choice less satisfactory to the provincial, trembling—and, as the event proved, justly trembling—lest in his zeal against the Pict he had



introduced an even fiercer foe into Britain. His dangerous allies were cooped up in a corner of the land, and parted from it by a sea-channel which was guarded by the strongest fortresses of the coast.

The English Attack

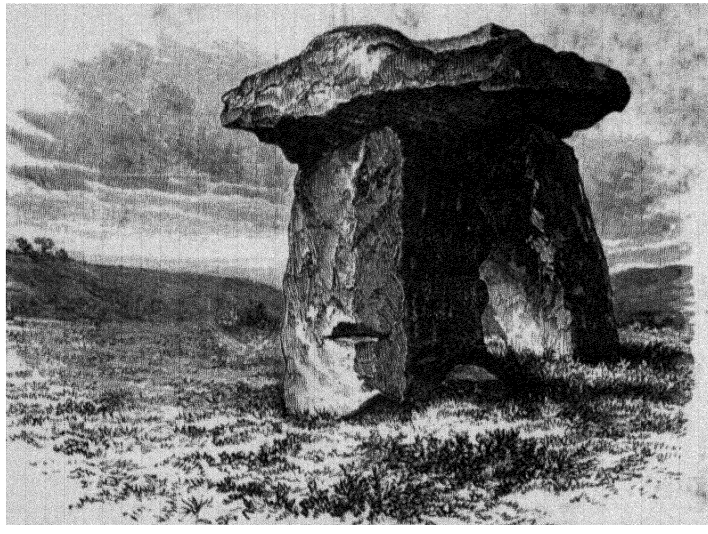
The need of such precautions was seen in the disputes which arose as soon as the work for which the mercenaries had been hired was done. The Picts were hardly scattered to the winds in a great battle when danger came from the Jutes themselves. Their numbers probably grew fast as the news of the settlement spread among the pirates in the Channel, and with the increase of their number must have grown the difficulty of supplying rations and pay. The dispute which rose over these questions was at last

closed by Hengest's men with a threat of war. The threat, however, as we have seen, was no easy one to carry out. Right across their path in any attack upon Britain stretched the inlet of sea that parted Thanet from the mainland, a strait which was then traversable only at low water by a long and dangerous ford, and guarded at either mouth by the fortresses of Richborough and Reculver. The channel of the Medway, with the forest of the Weald bending round it from the south, furnished another line of defence in the rear, while strongholds on the sites of our Canterbury and Rochester guarded the road to London ; and all around lay the soldiers placed at the command of the Count of the Saxon Shore, to hold the coast against the barbarian. Great however as these difficulties were, they failed to check the sudden onset of the Jutes. The inlet seems to have been crossed, the coast-road to London seized, before any force could be collected to oppose the English advance ; and it was only when they passed the Swale and looked to their right over the potteries whose refuse still strews the mudbanks of Upchurch, that their march seems to have swerved abruptly to the south. The guarded walls of Rochester probably forced them to turn southwards along the ridge of low hills which forms the eastern boundary of the Medway valley. Their way led them through a district full of memories of a past which had even then faded from the minds of men ; for the hill-slopes which they traversed were the grave-ground of a vanished race, and scattered among the boulders that strewed the ground rose the cromlechs and huge barrows of the dead. One mighty relic survives in the monument now called Kit's Coty House, which had been linked in old days by an avenue of huge stones to a burial-ground near Addington. It was from a steep knoll on which the grey weather-beaten stones of this monument are reared that the view of their first battle-field would break on the English warriors ; and a lane which still leads down from it through peaceful homesteads would guide them across the ford which has left its name in the little village of Aylesford. The Chronicle of the conquering people tells nothing of the rush that may have carried the ford, or of the fight that went struggling up through the village. It only tells that Horsa fell in the moment of victory ; and the flint-heap of Horsted, which has long preserved his name, and was held in after-time

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Extermination of the Britons

to mark his grave, is thus the earliest of those monuments of English valour of which Westminster is the last and noblest shrine.

The victory of Aylesford did more than give East Kent to the English; it struck the key-note of the whole English conquest of Britain. The massacre which followed the battle indicated at once the merciless nature of the struggle which had begun. While the wealthier Kentish landowners fled in panic over sea, the poorer Britons took refuge in hill and forest till hunger drove them from their lurking-places to be cut down or enslaved by their conquerors.



KIT'S COTY HOUSE.

It was in vain that some sought shelter within the walls of their churches; for the rage of the English seems to have burned fiercest against the clergy. The priests were slain at the altar, the churches fired, the peasants driven by the flames to fling themselves on a ring of pitiless steel. It is a picture such as this which distinguishes the conquest of Britain from that of the other provinces of Rome. The conquest of Gaul by the Frank, or of Italy by the Lombard, proved little more than a forcible settlement of the one or the other among tributary subjects who were destined in a long course of ages to absorb their conquerors. French is the

tongue, not of the Frank, but of the Gaul whom he overcame; and the fair hair of the Lombard is now all but unknown in Lombardy. But the English conquest for a hundred and fifty years was a sheer dispossession and driving back of the people whom the English conquered. In the world-wide struggle between Rome and the German invaders no land was so stubbornly fought for or so hardly won. The conquest of Britain was indeed only partly wrought out after two centuries of bitter warfare. But it was just through the long and merciless nature of the struggle that of all the German conquests this proved the most thorough and complete. So far as the English sword in these earlier days reached, Britain became England, a land, that is, not of Britons, but of Englishmen. It is possible that a few of the vanquished people may have lingered as slaves round the homesteads of their English conquerors, and a few of their household words (if these were not brought in at a later time) mingled oddly with the English tongue. But doubtful exceptions such as these leave the main facts untouched. When the steady progress of English conquest was stayed for a while by civil wars a century and a half after Aylesford, the Briton had disappeared from half of the land which had been his own, and the tongue, the religion, the laws of his English conqueror reigned without a rival from Essex to the Peak of Derbyshire and the mouth of the Severn, and from the British Channel to the Firth of Forth.

Conquest of the Saxon Shore

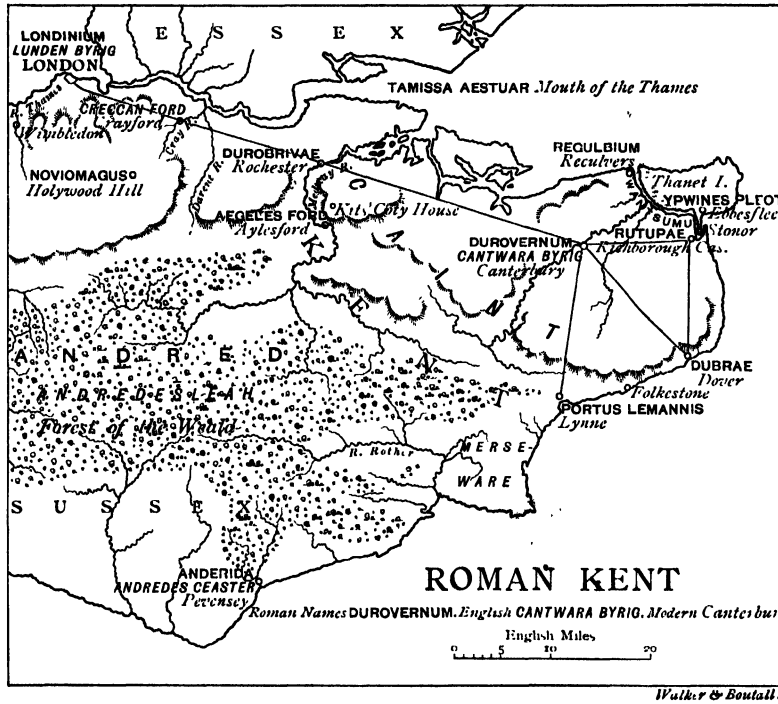
Aylesford, however, was but the first step in this career of conquest. How stubborn the contest was may be seen from the fact that it took sixty years to complete the conquest of Southern Britain alone. It was twenty years before Kent itself was won. After a second defeat at the passage of the Cray, the Britons "forsook Kent-land and fled with much fear to London;" but the ground was soon won back again, and it was not until 465 that a series of petty conflicts made way for a decisive struggle at Wippedsfleet. Here however the overthrow was so terrible that all hope of saving the bulk of Kent seems to have been abandoned, and it was only on its southern shore that the Britons held their ground. Eight years later the long contest was over, and with the fall of Lymne, whose broken walls look from the slope to which they cling over the great flat of Romney Marsh, the work of the

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first conqueror was done. But the greed of plunder drew fresh war-bands from the German coast. New invaders, drawn from among the Saxon tribes that lay between the Elbe and the Rhine, were seen in 477, only four years later, pushing slowly along the strip of land which lay westward of Kent between the Weald and the sea. Nowhere has the physical aspect of the country been more utterly changed. The vast sheet of scrub, woodland, and



waste which then bore the name of the Andredsweald stretched for more than a hundred miles from the borders of Kent to the Hampshire Downs, extending northward almost to the Thames, and leaving only a thin strip of coast along its southern edge. This coast was guarded by a great fortress which occupied the spot now called Pevensey, the future landing-place of the Norman Conqueror. The fall of this fortress of Anderida in 491 established the kingdom of the South-Saxons; "Ælle and Cissa," ran the pitiless record of the conquerors, "beset Anderida, and slew all that were therein,

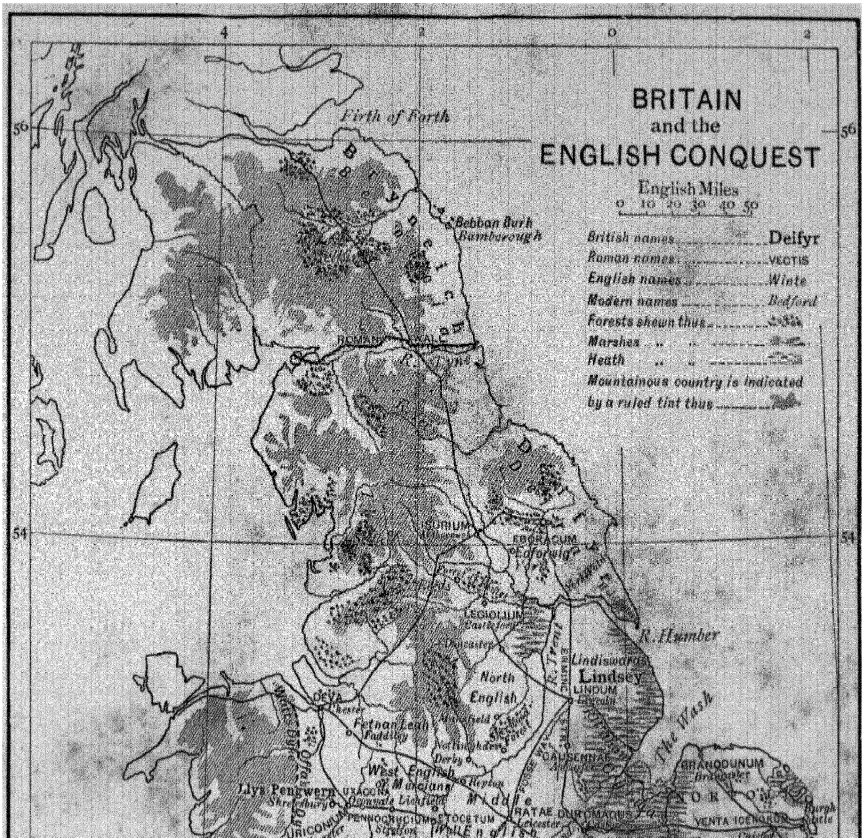
nor was there afterwards one Briton left." Another tribe of Saxons was at the same time conquering on the other side of Kent, to the north of the estuary of the Thames, and had founded the settlement of the East-Saxons, as these warriors came to be called, in the valleys of the Colne and the Stour. To the northward of the Stour, the work of conquest was taken up by the third of the tribes whom we have seen dwelling in their German homeland, whose name was destined to absorb that of Saxon or Jute, and to stamp itself on the land they won. These were the Engle, or Englishmen. Their first descents seem to have fallen on the great district which was cut off from the rest of Britain by the Wash and the Fens and long reaches of forest, the later East Anglia, where the conquerors settled as the North-folk and the South-folk, names still preserved to us in the modern counties. With this settlement the first stage in the conquest was complete. By the close of the fifth century the whole coast of Britain, from the Wash to Southampton Water, was in the hands of the invaders. As yet, however, the enemy had touched little more than the coast; great masses of woodland or of fen still prisoned the Engle, the Saxon, and the Jute alike within narrow limits. But the sixth century can hardly have been long begun when each of the two peoples who had done the main work of conquest opened a fresh attack on the flanks of the tract they had won. On its northern flank the Engle appeared in the estuaries of the Forth and of the Humber. On its western flank, the Saxons appeared in the Southampton Water.

Conquest of Southern Britain

The true conquest of Southern Britain was reserved for a fresh band of Saxons, a tribe whose older name was that of the Gewissas, but who were to be more widely known as the West-Saxons. Landing westward of the strip of coast which had been won by the war-bands of Ælle, they struggled under Cerdic and Cynric up from Southampton Water in 495 to the great downs where Winchester offered so rich a prize. Five thousand Britons fell in 508
a fight which opened the country to these invaders, and a fresh victory at Charford in 519 set the crown of the West-Saxons on the head of Cerdic. We know little of the incidents of these conquests; nor do we know why at this juncture they seem to have been suddenly interrupted. But it is certain that a victory of the Britons at Mount Badon in the year 520 checked the progress of

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the West-Saxons, and was followed by a long pause in their advance; for thirty years the great belt of woodland which then curved round from Dorset to the valley of the Thames seems to have barred the way of the assailants. What finally broke their inaction we cannot tell. We only know that Cynric, whom Cerdic's death left king of the West-Saxons, again took up the
552 work of invasion by a new advance in 552. The capture of the hill-fort of Old Sarum threw open the reaches of the Wiltshire Downs; and pushing northward to a new battle at Barbury Hill, they completed the conquest of the Marlborough Downs. From the bare uplands the invaders turned eastward to the richer valleys
568 of our Berkshire, and after a battle with the Kentish men at Wimbledon, the land south of the Thames which now forms our Surrey was added to their dominions. The road along the Thames was however barred to them, for the district round London seems to have been already won and colonized by the East-Saxons. But a march of their King Cuthwulf made them masters in 571 of the districts which now form Oxfordshire and Buckinghamshire; and a few years later they swooped from the Wiltshire uplands on the rich prey that lay along the Severn. Gloucester, Cirencester, and Bath, cities which had leagued under their British kings to resist this onset, became the spoil of a Saxon victory at Deorham in 577, and the line of the great western river lay open to the arms of the
583 conquerors. Under a new king, Ceawlin, the West-Saxons penetrated to the borders of Chester, and Uriconium, a town beside the Wrekin, recently again brought to light, went up in flames. A British poet sings piteously the death-song of Uriconium, "the white town in the valley," the town of white stone gleaming among the green woodland, the hall of its chieftain left "without fire, without light, without songs," the silence broken only by the eagle's scream, "the eagle who has swallowed fresh drink, heart's blood of Kyndylan the fair." The raid, however, was repulsed, and the blow proved fatal to the power of Wessex. Though the West-Saxons were destined in the end to win the overlordship over every English people, their time had not come yet, and the leadership of the English race was to fall, for nearly a century to come, to the tribe of invaders whose fortunes we have now to follow.


BRITAIN
and the
ENGLISH CONQUEST
English Miles
0 10 20 30 40 50
British names..........Deifyr
Roman names..........VECTIS
English names..........Winte
Modern names..........Bedford
Forests shewn thus
Marshes
Heath
Mountainous country is indicated
by a ruled tint thus
Firth of Forth
Bebban Burh
Bamborough
ROMAN WALL
R. Humber
Lindsey
LINDUM
North
English
DEVA
Chester
West English
or Mercians
Llys Pengwern
Shrewsbury
Middle English
The Wash
BRANODUNUM
VENTA ICENORUM
East English
SITOMADUS
Dunwich
CAMULODUNUM
Colchester
LONDINIUM
The Thames
RUTUPAE
DUBRAE
Dover
PORTUS LEMANNIS
ANDERIDA
Andredes Ceaster
Pevensey
ISCA DAMNONIORUM
Exeter
Stratton
VECTIS
Wight
Wihtgara Burh
EBORACUM
Eoforwic
ISURIUM
LEGIOLIUM
LACTODORUM
GLEAVUM
Gleawan Ceaster
Gloucester
Bathan Ceaster
Bath
Bristol
Dorchester
DURNOVARIA
Chichester

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Conquest of Mid-Britain and the North

Rivers were the natural inlets by which the northern pirates everywhere made their way into the heart of Europe. In Britain the fortress of London barred their way along the Thames from its mouth, and drove them, as we have seen, to an advance along the southern coast and over the downs of Wiltshire, before reaching its upper waters. But the rivers which united in the estuary of the Humber led like open highways into the heart of Britain, and it was by this inlet that the great mass of the invaders penetrated into the interior of the island. Like the invaders of East Anglia, they were of the English tribe from Sleswick. As the storm fell in the opening of the sixth century on the Wolds of Lincolnshire that stretch southward from the Humber, the conquerors who settled in the deserted country were known as the "Lindiswara," or "dwellers about Lindum." A part of the warriors who had entered the Humber, turned southward by the forest of Elmet which covered the district around Leeds, followed the course of the Trent. Those who occupied the wooded country between the Trent and the Humber took from their position the name of Southumbrians. A second division, advancing along the curve of the former river and creeping down the line of its tributary, the Soar, till they
c. 550 reached Leicester, became known as the Middle-English. The marshes of the Fen country were settled by tribes known as the Gyrwas. The head waters of the Trent were the seat of those invaders who penetrated furthest to the west, and camped round Lichfield and Repton. This country became the borderland between Englishmen and Britons, and the settlers bore the name of "Mercians," men, that is, of the March or border. We know hardly anything of this conquest of Mid-Britain, and little more of the conquest of the north. Under the Romans, political power had centred in the vast district between the Humber and the Forth. York had been the capital of Britain and the seat of the Roman prefect; and the bulk of the garrison maintained in the island lay cantoned along the Roman wall. Signs of wealth and prosperity appeared everywhere; cities rose beneath the shelter of the Roman camps; villas of British landowners studded the vale of the Ouse and the far-off uplands of the Tweed, where the shepherd trusted for security against Pictish marauders to the terror of the Roman name. This district was assailed at once from the north and from

the south. A part of the invading force which entered the Humber marched over the Yorkshire wolds to found a kingdom, which was known as that of the Deiri, in the fens of Holderness and on the chalk downs eastward of York. But they were soon drawn onwards, and after a struggle of which we know nothing, York, like its neighbour cities, lay a desolate ruin, while the conquerors spread northward, slaying and burning along the valley of the Ouse. Meanwhile the pirates had appeared in the Forth, and won their way along the Tweed; Ida and the men of fifty keels which followed him reared the capital of the northernmost kingdom of the English, that of Bernicia, on the rock of Bamborough, and won their way slowly along the coast against a stubborn resistance which formed the theme of British songs. The strife between the kingdoms of Deira and Bernicia for supremacy in the North was closed by their being united under king Æthelric of Bernicia; and from this union was formed a new kingdom, the kingdom of Northumbria.

500–520

588

Gildas c. 516–570

It was this century of conquest by the English race which really made Britain England. In our anxiety to know more of our fathers, we listen to the monotonous plaint of Gildas, the one writer whom Britain has left us, with a strange disappointment. Gildas had seen the invasion of the pirate hosts, and it is to him we owe our knowledge of the conquest of Kent. But we look in vain to his book for any account of the life or settlement of the English conquerors. Across the border of the new England that was growing up along the southern shores of Britain, Gildas gives us but a glimpse—doubtless he had but a glimpse himself—of forsaken walls, of shrines polluted by heathen impiety. His silence and his ignorance mark the character of the struggle. No British neck had as yet bowed before the English invader, no British pen was to record his conquest. A century after their landing the English are still known to their British foes only as "barbarians," "wolves," "dogs," "whelps from the kennel of barbarism," "hateful to God and man." Their victories seemed victories of the powers of evil, chastisements of a divine justice for national sin. Their ravage, terrible as it had been, was held to be almost at an end: in another century—so ran old prophecies—their last hold on the land would be shaken off. But of submission to, or even of intercourse

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The English Settlement

with the strangers there is not a word. Gildas tells us nothing of their fortunes, or of their leaders.

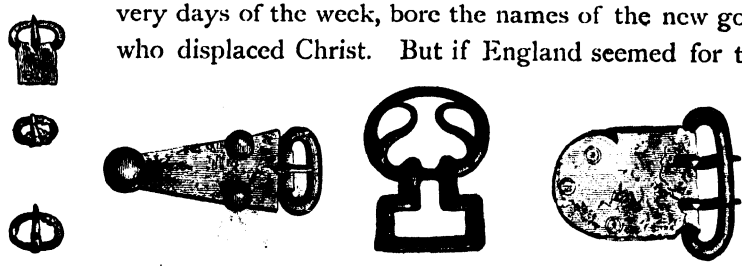
In spite of his silence, however, we may still know something of the way in which the new English society grew up in the conquered country, for the driving back of the Briton was but the prelude to the settlement of his conqueror. What strikes us at once in the new England is, that it was the one purely German nation that rose upon the wreck of Rome. In other lands, in Spain, or Gaul, or Italy, though they were equally conquered by German peoples,



OLD ENGLISH COMBS.
Akerman, "Pagan Saxondom."

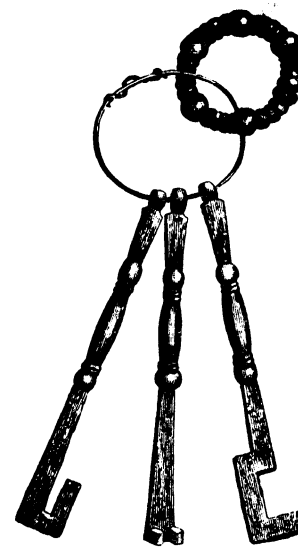
religion, social life, administrative order, still remained Roman. In Britain alone Rome died into a vague tradition of the past. The whole organization of government and society disappeared with the people who used it. The villas, the mosaics, the coins which we dig up in our fields are no relics of our English fathers, but of a Roman world which our fathers' sword swept utterly away. Its law, its literature, its manners, its faith, went with it. The new England was a heathen country. The religion of Woden and Thunder triumphed over the religion of Christ. Alone among the German assailants of Rome the English rejected the faith of the Empire they helped to overthrow. Elsewhere the Christian

priesthood served as mediators between the barbarian and the conquered, but in the conquered part of Britain Christianity wholly disappeared. River and homestead and boundary, the very days of the week, bore the names of the new gods who displaced Christ. But if England seemed for the



OLD ENGLISH BUCKLES.
British Museum and Dover Museum.

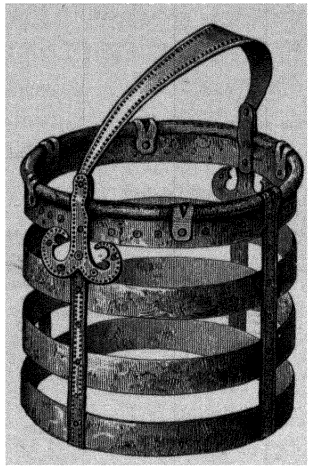
moment a waste from which all the civilization of the world had fled away, it contained within itself the germs of a nobler life than that which had been destroyed. The base of the new English society was the freeman whom we have seen tilling, judging, or sacrificing for himself in his far-off fatherland by the Northern Sea. However roughly he dealt while the struggle went on with the material civilization of Britain, it was impossible that such a man could be a mere destroyer. War was no sooner over than the warrior settled down into a farmer, and the home of the peasant churl rose beside the heap of goblin-haunted stones that marked the site of the villa he had burnt. Little knots of kinsfolk drew together in "tun" and "ham" beside the Thames and the Trent as they had settled beside the Elbe or the Weser, not as kinsfolk only, but as dwellers in the same plot, knit together by their common holding within the same bounds. Each little village-commonwealth lived the same life in Britain as its farmers had lived at home. Each had its moot hill or sacred tree as a centre, its "mark" as a



OLD ENGLISH KEYS.
Akerman, "Pagan Saxondom."

SEC. II
THE ENGLISH CONQUEST
449 TO 577

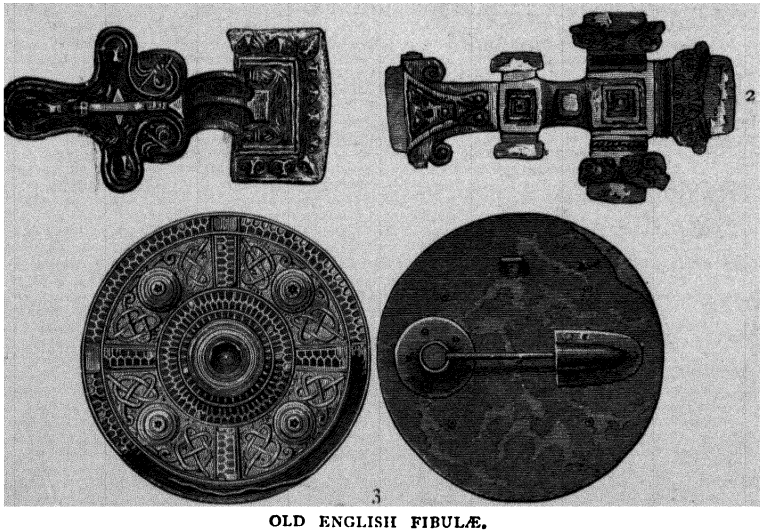
border; each judged by witness of the kinsfolk and made laws in the assembly of its freemen, and chose the leaders for its own governance, and the men who were to follow headman or ealdorman to hundred-court or war.



PLATINGS OF AN OLD ENGLISH BUCKET.
Akerman, "Pagan Saxondom."

England and the Conquest

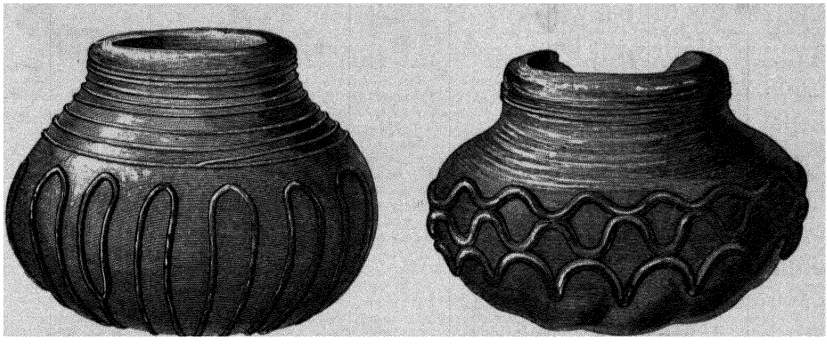
In more ways than one, indeed, the primitive organization of English society was affected by its transfer to the soil of Britain. Conquest begat the King. It is probable that the English had hitherto known nothing of kings in their own fatherland, where each tribe lived under the rule of its own customary Ealdorman. But in a war such as that which they waged against the Britons it was necessary to find a common leader whom the various tribes engaged in conquests such as those of Kent or Wessex might follow; and such a leader soon rose into a higher position than that



OLD ENGLISH FIBULÆ.
1. *Akerman, "Pagan Saxondom"* 2. *Collection of the Society of Antiquaries.*
3. *British Museum.*

of a temporary chief. The sons of Hengest became kings in Kent; those of Ælle in Sussex; the West-Saxons chose Cerdic for their

king. Such a choice at once drew the various villages and tribes of each community closer together than of old, while the new ruler surrounded himself with a chosen war-band of companions, servants, or "thegns" as they were called, who were rewarded for their service by gifts from the public land. Their distinction rested, not on hereditary rank, but on service done to the King, and they at last became a nobility which superseded the "eorls" of the original English constitution. And as war begat the King and the military noble, so it all but begat the slave. There had always been a slave class, a class of the unfree, among the English as among all German peoples; but the numbers of this class, if unaffected by the conquest

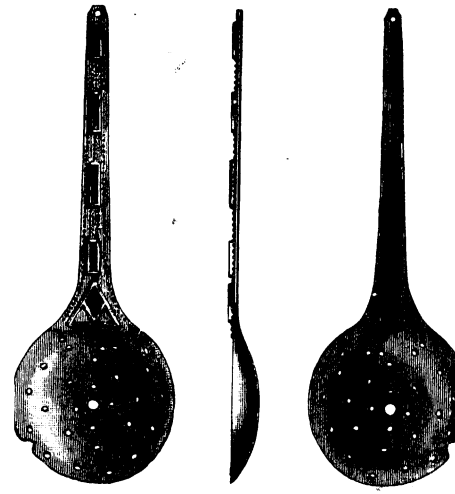


OLD ENGLISH GLASS VESSELS.
Akerman, "Pagan Saxondom."

of Britain, were swelled by the wars which soon sprang up among the English conquerors. No rank saved the prisoner taken in battle from the doom of slavery, and slavery itself was often welcomed as saving the prisoner from death. We see this in the story of a noble warrior who had fallen wounded in a fight between two English tribes, and was carried as a bond-slave to the house of a thegn hard by. He declared himself a peasant, but his master penetrated the disguise. "You deserve death," he said, "since all my brothers and kinsfolk fell in the fight;" but for his oath's sake he spared his life and sold him to a Frisian at London, probably a merchant such as those who were carrying English captives at that time to the market-place of Rome. But war was not the only cause of the increase of this slave class. The numbers of the "unfree" were swelled by debt and crime. Famine drove men to "bend their heads in the

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evil days for meat;" the debtor unable to discharge his debt flung on the ground the freeman's sword and spear, took up the labourer's mattock, and placed his head as a slave within a master's hands. The criminal whose kinsfolk would not make up his fine became a crime-serf of the plaintiff or the king. Sometimes a father, pressed by need, sold children and wife into bondage. The slave became part of the live-stock of the estate, to be willed away at death with horse or ox whose pedigree was kept as carefully as his own. His children were bondsmen like himself; even the freeman's children by a slave-mother inherited the mother's taint. "Mine is the calf that is born of my cow," ran the English proverb. The cabins of the unfree clustered round the home of the rich landowner as they had clustered round the villa of the Roman gentleman; ploughman, shepherd, goatherd, swineherd, oxherd and cowherd, dairymaid, barnman, sower, hayward and woodward, were often slaves. It was not such a slavery as that we have known in modern times, for stripes and bonds were rare; if the slave were slain, it was by an angry blow, not by the lash. But his lord could slay him if he would; it was but a chattel the less. The slave had no place in the justice-court, no kinsman to claim vengeance for his wrong. If a stranger slew him, his lord claimed the damages; if guilty of wrong-doing, "his skin paid for him" under the lash. If he fled he might be chased like a strayed beast, and flogged to death for his crime, or burned to death if the slave were a woman.



OLD ENGLISH SPOON.
Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.



OLD ENGLISH FORK.
Akerman, "Pagan Saxondom."

Section III.—The Northumbrian Kingdom, 588—685

[*Authorities.*—Bæda's "Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum" is the one primary authority for this period. I have spoken fully of it and its writer in the text. The meagre regnal and episcopal annals of the West-Saxons have been brought by numerous insertions from Bæda to the shape in which they at present appear in the "English Chronicle." The Poem of Cædmon has been published by Mr. Thorpe, and copious summaries of it are given by Sharon Turner ("Hist. of Anglo-Saxons," vol. iii. cap. 3) and Mr. Morley ("English Writers," vol. i.). The life of Wilfrid by Eddi, and those of Cuthbert by Bæda and an earlier contemporary biographer, which are appended to Mr. Stevenson's edition of the "Historia Ecclesiastica," throw great light on the religious condition of the North. For Guthlac of Crowland, see the "Acta Sanctorum" for April xi. For Theodore, and the English Church which he organized, see Kemble ("Saxons in England," vol. ii. cap. 8—10), and above all the invaluable remarks of Dr. Stubbs in his "Constitutional History."]

Æthelberht

The conquest of the bulk of Britain was now complete. Eastward of a line which may be roughly drawn along the moorlands of Northumberland and Yorkshire, through Derbyshire and skirting the Forest of Arden, to the mouth of the Severn, and thence by Mendip to the sea, the island had passed into English hands. From this time the character of the English conquest of Britain was wholly changed. The older wars of extermination came to an end, and as the invasion pushed westward in later times the Britons were no longer wholly driven from the soil, but mingled with their conquerors. A far more important change was that which was seen in the attitude of the English conquerors from this time towards each other. Freed to a great extent from the common pressure of the war against the Britons, their energies turned to combats with one another, to a long struggle for overlordship which was to end in bringing about a real national unity. The West-Saxons, beaten back from their advance along the Severn valley, and overthrown in a terrible defeat at Faddiley, were torn by internal dissensions, even while they were battling for life against the Britons. Strife between the two rival kingdoms of Bernicia and Deira in the north absorbed the power of the Engle in that quarter, till in 588 the strength of Deira suddenly broke down, and the Bernician king, Æthelric, gathered the two peoples into a realm which was to form the later kingdom of Northumbria. Amid the confusion of north and south

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the primacy among the conquerors was seized by Kent, where the kingdom of the Jutes rose suddenly into greatness under a king



called Æthelberht, who before 597 established his supremacy over the Saxons of Middlesex and Essex, as well as over the English

of East Anglia and of Mercia as far north as the Humber and the Trent.

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The overlordship of Æthelberht was marked by a renewal of that intercourse of Britain with the Continent which had been broken off by the conquests of the English. His marriage with Bertha, the daughter of the Frankish King Charibert of Paris, created a fresh tie between Kent and Gaul. But the union had far more important results than those of which Æthelberht may have dreamed. Bertha, like her Frankish kinsfolk, was a Christian. A Christian bishop accompanied her from Gaul to Canterbury, the royal city of the kingdom of Kent; and a ruined Christian church, the church of St. Martin, was given them for their worship. The marriage of Bertha was an opportunity which was at once seized by the bishop who at this time occupied the Roman See, and who is justly known as Gregory the Great. A memorable story tells us how, when but a young Roman deacon, Gregory had noted the white bodies, the fair faces, the golden hair of some youths who stood bound in the market place of Rome. "From what country do these slaves come?" he asked the traders who brought them. "They are English, Angles!" the slave-dealers answered. The deacon's pity veiled itself in poetic humour. "Not Angles but Angels," he said, "with faces so angel-like! From what country come they?" "They come," said the merchants, "from Deira." "De ira!" was the untranslateable reply; "aye, plucked from God's ire, and called to Christ's mercy! And what is the name of their king?" "Ælla," they told him; and Gregory seized on the words as of good omen. "Alleluia shall be sung in Ælla's land!" he cried, and passed on, musing how the angel faces should be brought to sing it. Only three or four years had gone by, when the deacon had become Bishop of Rome, and Bertha's marriage gave him the opening he sought. After cautious negotiations with the rulers of Gaul, he sent a Roman abbot, Augustine, at the head of a band of monks, to preach the gospel to the English people. The missionaries landed in 597 on the very spot where Hengest had landed more than a century before in the Isle of Thanet; and the king received them sitting in the open air on the chalk-down above Minster, where the eye nowadays catches miles away over the marshes the dim tower of Canterbury. He listened to the long sermon as the interpreters

Landing of Augustine c. 589

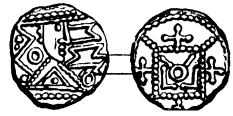


S. LUKE, FROM THE GOSPEL-BOOK OF S. AUGUSTINE.
Now at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.

whom Augustine had brought with him from Gaul translated it. "Your words are fair," Æthelberht replied at last with English good sense, "but they are new and of doubtful meaning;" for himself, he said, he refused to forsake the gods of his fathers, but he promised shelter and protection to the strangers. The band of monks entered Canterbury bearing before them a silver cross with a picture of Christ, and singing in concert the strains of the litany of their church. "Turn from this city, Lord," they sang, "Thine anger and wrath, and turn it from Thy holy house, for we have sinned." And then in strange contrast came the jubilant cry of the older Hebrew worship, the cry which Gregory had wrested in prophetic earnestness from the name of the Yorkshire king in the Roman market-place, "Alleluia!"

Reunion of England and the Western World

It is strange that the spot which witnessed the landing of Hengest should be yet better known as the landing-place of Augustine. But the second landing at Ebbsfleet was in no small



SCEATTA, RUNIC TYPE.



SCEATTAS, ROMAN TYPE.

measure the reversal and undoing of the first. "Strangers from Rome" was the title with which the missionaries first fronted the English king. The march of the monks as they chanted their solemn litany was, in one sense, the return of the Roman legions who had retired at the trumpet-call of Alaric. It was to the tongue and the thought not of Gregory only but of such men as his own Jutish fathers had slaughtered and driven over sea that Æthelberht listened in the preaching of Augustine. Canterbury, the earliest royal city of the new England, became the centre of Latin influence. The Roman tongue became again one of the tongues of Britain, the language of its worship, its correspondence, its literature. But more than the tongue of Rome returned with

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Augustine. Practically his landing renewed the union with the western world which the landing of Hengest had all but destroyed. The new England was admitted into the older commonwealth of nations. The civilization, arts, letters, which had fled before the sword of the English conquest, returned with the Christian faith. The fabric of the Roman law indeed never took root in England, but it is impossible not to recognize the result of the influence of the Roman missionaries in the fact that the codes of customary English law began to be put into writing soon after their arrival.

Fall of Kent

As yet these great results were still distant; a year passed before Æthelberht yielded, and though after his conversion thousands of the Kentish men crowded to baptism, it was years before he ventured to urge the under-kings of Essex and East
604 Anglia to receive the creed of their overlord. This effort of Æthelberht however only heralded a revolution which broke the power of Kent for ever. The tribes of Mid-Britain revolted against his supremacy, and gathered under the overlordship of Rædwald of
607 East Anglia. The revolution clearly marked the change which had passed over Britain. Instead of a chaos of isolated peoples, the conquerors were now in fact gathered into three great groups. The Engle kingdom of the north reached from the Humber to the Forth. The southern kingdom of the West-Saxons stretched from Watling Street to the Channel. And between these was roughly sketched out the great kingdom of Mid-Britain, which, however its limits might vary, retained a substantial identity from the time of Æthelberht till the final fall of the Mercian kings. For the next two hundred years the history of England lies in the struggle of Northumbrian, Mercian, and West-Saxon kings to establish their supremacy over the general mass of Englishmen, and unite them in a single England.

Æthelfrith 593–617

In this struggle the lead was at once taken by Northumbria, which was rising into a power that set all rivalry at defiance. Under Æthelfrith, who had followed Æthelric in 593, the work of conquest went on rapidly. In 603 the forces of the northern Britons were annihilated in a great battle at Dægsastan, and the rule of Northumbria was established from the Humber to the Forth. Along the west of Britain there stretched the unconquered kingdoms of Strathclyde and Cumbria, which extended from the

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river Clyde to the Dee, and the smaller British states which occupied what we now call Wales. Chester formed the link between these two bodies; and it was Chester that Æthelfrith chose in 613 for his next point of attack. Some miles from the city two thousand monks were gathered in the monastery of Bangor, and after imploring in a three days' fast the help of Heaven for their country, a crowd of these ascetics followed the British army to the field. Æthelfrith watched the wild gestures and outstretched arms of the strange company as it stood apart, intent upon prayer, and took the monks for enchanters. "Bear they arms or no," said the king, "they war against us when they cry against us to their God," and in the surprise and rout which followed the monks were the first to fall.

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The British kingdoms were now utterly parted from one another. By their victory at Deorham the West-Saxons had cut off the Britons of Devon and Cornwall from the general body of their race. By his victory at Chester Æthelfrith broke this body again into two several parts, by parting the Britons of Wales from those of Cumbria and Strathclyde. From this time the warfare of Briton and Englishman died down into a warfare of separate English kingdoms against separate British kingdoms, of Northumbria against Cumbria and Strathclyde, of Mercia against modern Wales, of Wessex against the tract of British country from Mendip to the Land's End. Nor was the victory of Chester of less importance to England itself. With it Æthelfrith was at once drawn to new dreams of ambition as he looked across his southern border, where Rædwald of East Anglia was drawing the peoples of Mid-Britain under his overlordship.

Eadwine 617 633

The inevitable struggle between East Anglia and Northumbria seemed for a time averted by the sudden death of Æthelfrith. Marching in 617 against Rædwald, who had sheltered Eadwine, an exile from the Northumbrian kingdom, he perished in a defeat at the river Idle. Eadwine mounted the Northumbrian throne on the fall of his enemy, and carried on the work of government with an energy as ceaseless as that of Æthelfrith himself. His victories over Pict and Briton were followed by the winning of lordship over the English of Mid-Britain; Kent was bound to him in close political alliance; and the English conquerors of the south, the

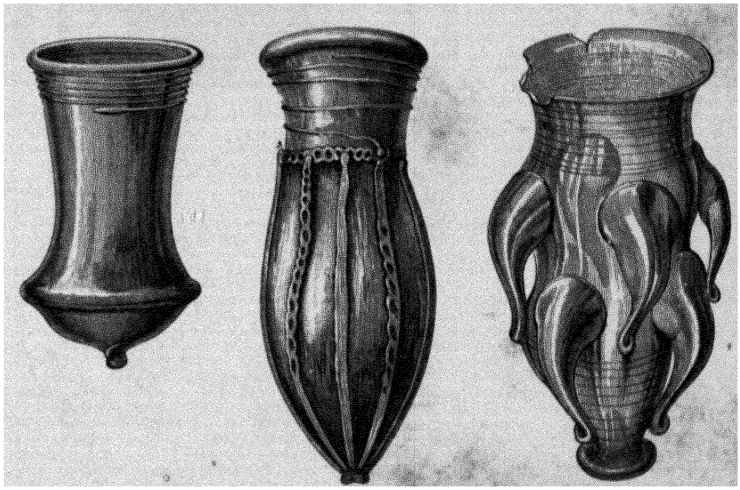
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people of the West-Saxons, alone remained independent. But revolt and slaughter had fatally broken the power of the West-Saxons



626 when the Northumbrians attacked them. A story preserved by Bæda tells something of the fierceness of the struggle which ended

in the subjection of the south to the overlordship of Northumbria. Eadwine gave audience in an Easter court which he held in a king's town near the river Derwent to Eumer, an envoy of Wessex, who brought a message from its king. In the midst of the conference the envoy started to his feet, drew a dagger from his robe, and rushed madly on the Northumbrian sovereign. Lilla, one of the king's war-band, threw himself between Eadwine and his assassin; but so furious was the stroke that even through Lilla's body the dagger still reached its aim. The king however recovered



OLD ENGLISH GLASS VESSELS.
Kemble's "Pagan Saxondom."

from his wound to march on the West-Saxons; he slew and subdued all who had conspired against him, and returned victorious to his own country. The greatness of Northumbria now reached its height. Within his own dominions Eadwine displayed a genius for civil government which shows how completely the mere age of conquest had passed away. With him began the English proverb so often applied to after kings, "A woman with her babe might walk scatheless from sea to sea in Eadwine's day." Peaceful communication revived along the deserted highways; the springs by the roadside were marked with stakes, and a cup of brass set beside each for the traveller's refreshment. Some faint traditions of the

Sec. III. The Northumbrian Kingdom 588 to 685

Roman past may have flung their glory round this new "Empire of the English;" some of its majesty had at any rate come back with it long lost peace. A royal standard of purple and gold floated before Eadwine as he rode through the villages; a feather-tuft attached to a spear, the Roman tufa, preceded him as he walked through the streets. The Northumbrian king was in fact supreme over Britain as no king of English blood had been before. Northward his frontier reached the Forth, and was guarded by a city which bore his name, Edinburgh, Eadwine's burgh, the city of Eadwine. Westward, he was master of Chester, and the fleet he equipped there subdued the isles of Anglesey and Man. South of the Humber he was owned as overlord by the whole English race, save Kent; and even Kent was bound to him by his marriage with its king's sister.



OLD ENGLISH BRONZE PATERA.
Akerman, "Pagan Saxondom"

Conversion of Northumbria

With the Kentish queen came Paulinus, one of Augustine's followers, whose tall stooping form, slender, aquiline nose, and black hair falling round a thin worn face, were long remembered in the north; and the Wise Men of Northumbria gathered to deliberate on the new faith to which Paulinus and his queen soon converted Eadwine. To finer minds its charm lay in the light it threw on the darkness which encompassed men's lives, the darkness of the future as of the past. "So seems the life of man, O king," burst forth an aged Ealdorman, "as a sparrow's flight through the hall when you are sitting at meat in winter-tide, with the warm fire lighted on the hearth, but the icy rain-storm without. The sparrow flies in at one door and tarries for a moment in the light and heat of the hearth-fire, and then flying forth from the other vanishes into the wintry darkness whence it came. So tarries for a moment the life of man in our sight, but what is before it, what after it, we know not. If this new teaching tells us aught certainly of these, let us follow it." Coarser argument told on the crowd. "None of

627

your people, Eadwine, have worshipped the gods more busily than I," said Coifi the priest, "yet there are many more favoured and more fortunate. Were these gods good for anything they would help their worshippers." Then leaping on horseback, he hurled his spear into the sacred temple at Godmanham, and with the rest of the Witan embraced the religion of the king.

The Heathen Struggle

But the faith of Woden and Thunder was not to fall without a struggle. Even in Kent a reaction against the new creed began with the death of Æthelberht. Rædwald of East Anglia resolved to serve Christ and the older gods together; and a pagan and Christian altar fronted one another in the same royal temple. The young kings of the East-Saxons burst into the church where Mellitus, the Bishop of London, was administering the Eucharist to the people, crying, "Give us that white bread you gave to our father Saba," and on the bishop's refusal drove him from their realm. The tide of reaction was checked for a time by Eadwine's conversion, until Mercia sprang into a sudden greatness as the champion of the heathen gods. Under Eadwine Mercia had submitted to the lordship of Northumbria; but its king, Penda, saw in the rally of the old religion a chance of winning back its independence. Penda had not only united under his own rule the Mercians of the Upper Trent, the Middle-English of Leicester, the Southumbrians, and the Lindiswaras, but he had even been strong enough to tear from the West-Saxons their possessions along the Severn. So thoroughly indeed was the union of these provinces effected, that though some were detached for a time after Penda's death, the name of Mercia from this moment must be generally taken as covering the whole of them. Alone, however, he was as yet no match for Northumbria. But the old severance between the English people and the Britons was fast dying down, and Penda boldly broke through the barrier which parted the two races, and 633
allied himself with the Welsh king, Cadwallon, in an attack on Eadwine. The armies met in 633 at Hatfield, and in the fight which followed Eadwine was defeated and slain. The victory was turned to profit by the ambition of Penda, while Northumbria was torn with the strife which followed Eadwine's fall. To complete his dominion over Mid-Britain, Penda marched against East Anglia. The East Engle had returned to heathendom from the oddly

Sec. III

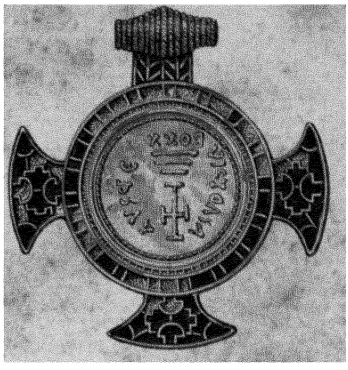
The North-Cumbrian Kingdom 588 to 685

mingled religion of their first Christian king, Raedwald; but the new faith was brought back by the present king, Sigeberht. Before

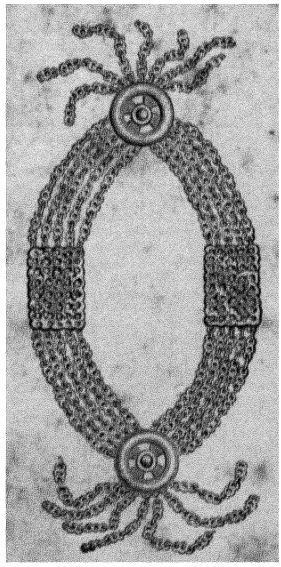


the threat of Penda's attack Sigeberht left his throne for a monastery, but his people dragged him again from his cell on the

news of Penda's invasion in 634, in faith that his presence would bring them the favour of Heaven. The monk-king was set in the front of the battle, but he would bear no weapon save a wand, and his fall was followed by the rout of his army and the submission of his kingdom. Meanwhile Cadwallon remained harrying in the heart of Deira, and made himself master even of York. But the triumph of the Britons was as brief as it was strange. Oswald, a second son of Æthelfrith, placed himself at the head of his race, and a small Northumbrian force gathered in 635 under their new king near the Roman Wall. Oswald set up a cross of wood as his standard, holding it with his own hands till the hollow in which it was fixed was filled in by his soldiers; then throwing himself on his knees, he cried to his host to pray to the living God. Cadwallon, the last great hero of the British race, fell fighting on the "Heaven's Field," as after times called the field of battle, and for seven years the power of Oswald equalled that of Æthelfrith and Eadwine.



OLD ENGLISH GOLD CROSS.



It was not the Church of Paulinus which nerved Oswald to this struggle for the Cross. Paulinus had fled from Northumbria at Eadwine's fall; and the Roman Church in Kent shrank into inactivity before the heathen reaction. Its place in the conversion of England was taken by missionaries from Ireland. To understand, however, the true meaning of the change, we must remember that before the landing of the English in Britain, the Christian Church comprised every

country, save Germany, in Western Europe, as far as Ireland itself. The conquest of Britain by the pagan English thrust a

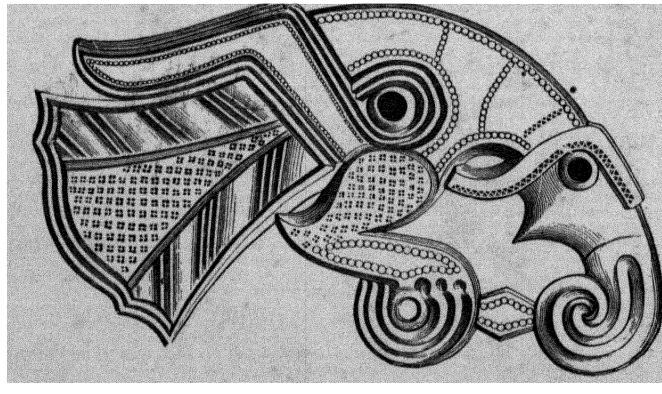


NIELLO PENDANT HOOK. Irish.

BRONZE DISC. Irish.

Museum of Royal Irish Academy.

wedge of heathendom into the heart of this great communion and broke it into two unequal parts. On the one side lay Italy, Spain, and Gaul, whose Churches owned obedience to the See



ORNAMENT OF GILDED BRONZE, FOUND IN GOTLAND.
Shewing connexion between Scandinavian and Irish art
Montelius, "Civilisation of Sweden."

of Rome, on the other the Church of Ireland. But the condition of the two portions of Western Christendom was very different. While the vigour of Christianity in Italy and Gaul and

Spain was exhausted in a bare struggle for life, Ireland, which remained unscourged by invaders, drew from its conversion an energy such as it has never known since. Christianity had been received there with a burst of popular enthusiasm, and letters and arts sprang up rapidly in its train. The science and Biblical knowledge which fled from the Continent took refuge in famous schools which made Durrow and Armagh the universities of the West. The new Christian life soon beat too strongly to brook confinement within the bounds of Ireland itself. Patrick, the first missionary of the island, had not been half a century dead when Irish Christianity flung itself with a fiery zeal into battle with the



PLATE OF GILDED BRONZE, FOUND IN GOTLAND.
Shewing connexion between Scandinavian and Irish art.
Montelius, "Civilisation of Sweden"

mass of heathenism which was rolling in upon the Christian world. Irish missionaries laboured among the Picts of the Highlands and among the Frisians of the northern seas. An Irish missionary, Columban, founded monasteries in Burgundy and the Apennines. The canton of St. Gall still commemorates in its name another Irish missionary before whom the spirits of flood and fell fled wailing over the waters of the Lake of Constance. For a time it seemed as if the course of the world's history was to be changed, as if the older Celtic race that Roman and German had swept before them had turned to the moral conquest of their conquerors, as if Celtic and not Latin Christianity was to mould the destinies of the Churches of the West.

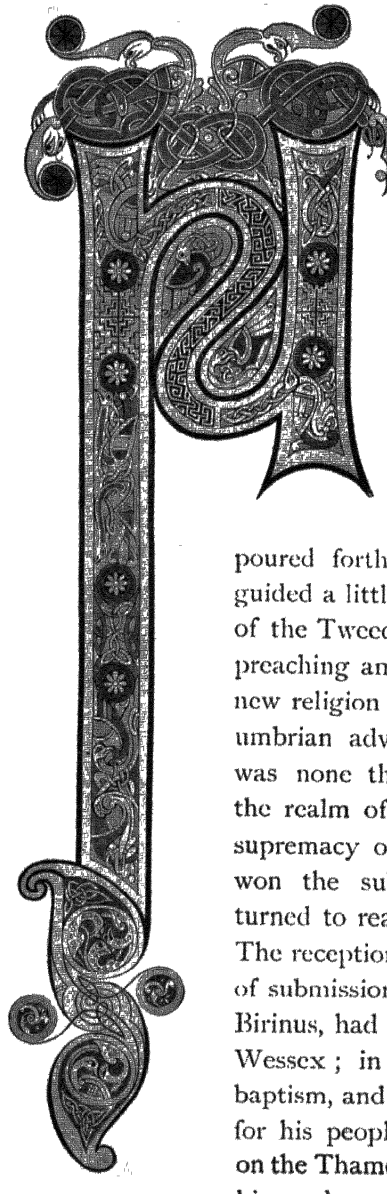
Oswald 634-642

On a low island of barren gneiss-rock off the west coast of Scotland an Irish refugee, Columba, had raised the famous monastery of Iona. Oswald in youth found refuge within its walls, and on his accession to the throne of Northumbria he called for missionaries

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obtained little success. He declared on his return that among a people so stubborn and barbarous success was impossible. "Was it their stubbornness or your severity?" asked Aidan, a brother sitting by; "did you forget God's word to give them the milk first and then the meat?" All eyes turned on the speaker as fittest to undertake the abandoned mission, and Aidan sailing at their bidding fixed his bishop's stool or see in the island-peninsula of Lindisfarne. Thence, from a monastery which gave to the spot its after name of Holy Island, preachers poured forth over the heathen realms. Boisil guided a little troop of missionaries to the valley of the Tweed. Aidan himself wandered on foot preaching among the peasants of Bernicia. The new religion served as a prelude to the Northumbrian advance. If Oswald was a saint, he was none the less resolved to build up again the realm of Eadwine. Having extended his supremacy over the Britons of Strathclyde and won the submission of the Lindiswaras, he turned to reassert his supremacy over Wessex. The reception of the new faith became the mark of submission to his overlordship. A preacher, Birinus, had already penetrated from Gaul into Wessex; in Oswald's presence its king received baptism, and established with his assent a see for his people in the royal city of Dorchester on the Thames. Oswald ruled as wide a realm as his predecessor; but for after times the memory of his greatness was lost in the legends of his piety. A new conception of kingship began to



INITIAL N.
"Book of Kells," Irish MS., seventh century.
M. Stokes, "Early Christian Art in Ireland."

blend itself with that of the warlike glory of Æthelfrith or the wise administration of Eadwine. The moral power which was to



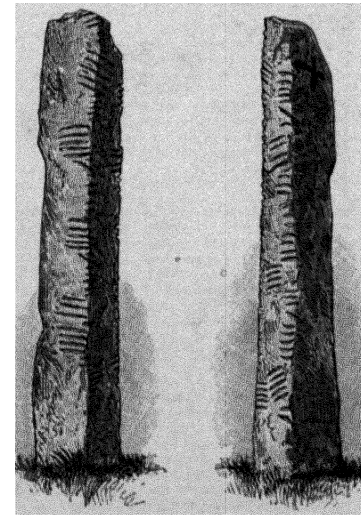
reach its height in Ælfred first dawns in the story of Oswald. In his own court the king acted as interpreter to the Irish missionaries

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in their efforts to convert his thegns. "By reason of his constant habit of praying or giving thanks to the Lord he was wont wherever he sat to hold his hands upturned on his knees." As he feasted with Bishop Aidan by his side, the thegn, or noble of his war-band, whom he had set to give alms to the poor at his gate, told him of a multitude that still waited fasting without. The king at once bade the untasted meat before him be carried to the poor and his silver dish be divided piecemeal among them. Aidan seized the royal hand and blessed it. "May this hand," he cried, "never grow old"

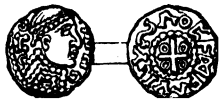
Penda
626 655

Prisoned, however, as it was by the conversion of Wessex to the central districts of England, heathendom fought desperately for life. Penda was still its rallying-point; but if his long reign was one continuous battle with the new religion, it was in fact rather a struggle against the supremacy of Northumbria than against the supremacy of the Cross. East Anglia became at last the field of contest between the two powers. In 642 Oswald marched to deliver it from Penda; but in a battle called the battle of the Maserfeld he was overthrown and slain. His body was mutilated and his limbs set on stakes by the brutal conqueror, but legend told that when all else of Oswald had perished, the "white hand" that Aidan had blessed still remained white and uncorrupted. For a few years after his victory at the Maserfeld Penda stood supreme in Britain. Wessex owned his overlordship as it had owned that of Oswald, and its king threw off the Christian faith and married Penda's sister. Even Deira seems to have bowed to him, and Bernicia alone refused to yield. Year by year Penda carried his ravages over the



IRISH OGHAM STONE.
Museum of Royal Irish Academy

north; once he reached even the royal city, the impregnable rock-fortress of Bamborough. Despairing of success in an assault, he pulled down the cottages around, and, piling their wood against its walls, fired the mass in a fair wind that drove the flames on the town. "See, Lord, what ill Penda is doing," cried Aidan from his hermit cell in the islet of Farne, as he saw the smoke drifting over the city; and a change of wind—so ran the legend of Northumbria's agony—drove back at the words the flames on those who kindled them. But in spite of Penda's victories, the faith which he had so often struck down revived everywhere around him. Burnt and harried as it was, Bernicia still clung to the Cross. The East-Saxons again became Christian. Penda's own son, whom he had set over the Middle-English, received baptism and teachers from Lindisfarne. The missionaries of the new faith appeared fearlessly among the Mercians themselves, and Penda gave no hindrance. Heathen to the last, he stood by unheeding if any were willing to hear; hating and scorning with a certain grand sincerity of nature "those whom he saw not doing the works of the faith they had received." But the track of Northumbrian missionaries along the eastern coast marked the growth of Northumbrian overlordship, and the old man roused himself for a last stroke at his foes. On the death of Oswald Oswiu had been called to fill his throne, and in 655 he met the pagan host near the river Winwæd. It was in vain that the Northumbrians had sought to avert Penda's attack by offers of ornaments and costly gifts. "Since the pagans will not take our gifts," Oswiu cried at last, "let us offer them to One that will;" and he vowed that if successful he would dedicate his daughter to God and endow twelve monasteries in his realm. Victory at last declared for the faith of Christ. The river over which the Mercians fled was swollen with a great rain; it swept away the fragments of the heathen host, Penda himself was slain, and the cause of the older gods was lost for ever.



COIN OF PEADA, RULER OF THE MIDDLE ANGLES, 652–655.

The terrible struggle was followed by a season of peace. For four years after the battle of Winwæd Mercia was subject to Oswiu's

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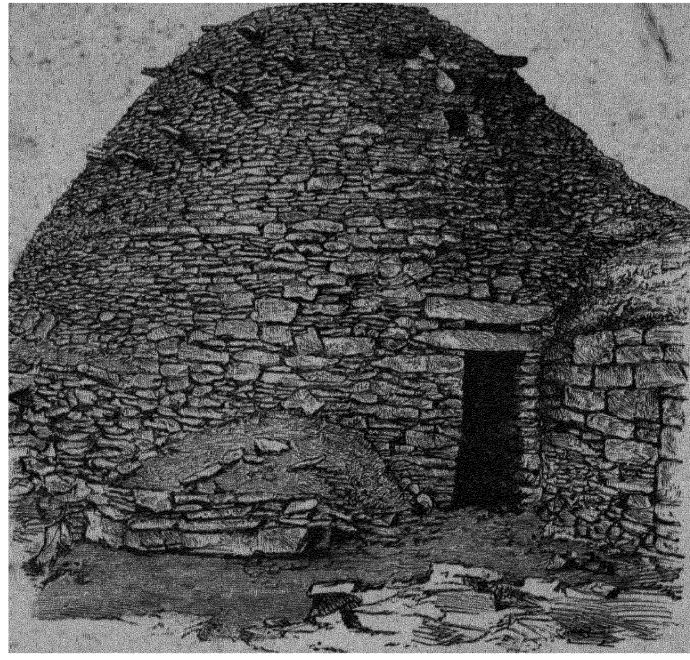
655

Oswiu 642–670

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overlordship. But in 659 a general rising of the people threw off the Northumbrian yoke. The heathendom of Mercia however was dead with Penda. "Being thus freed," Bæda tells us, "the Mercians with their king rejoiced to serve the true King, Christ." Its three provinces, the earlier Mercia, the Middle-English, and the Lindiswaras, were united in the bishopric of Ceadda, the St. Chad to whom the Mercian see of Lichfield still looks as its founder.



MONASTIC CELL, SKELLIG MICHAEL.
Anderson, "Scotland in Early Christian Times"

Ceadda was a monk of Lindisfarne, so simple and lowly in temper that he travelled on foot on his long mission journeys, till Archbishop Theodore in later days with his own hands lifted him on horseback. The poetry of Christian enthusiasm breaks out in his death-legend, as it tells us how voices of singers singing sweetly descended from Heaven to the little cell beside St. Mary's Church where the bishop lay dying. Then "the same song ascended from the roof again, and returned heavenward by the way that it came." It was